"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

LATE EDITION

Today, cloudy skies, occasional rain, high 68. Tonight, rain and drizzle early, staying cloudy, low 57. Tomorrow, sunshine returns, warmer, high 77. Weather map is on Page B12.

VOL. CLXXII .... No. 59,794 © 2023 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 20, 2023 $4.00

ULET IFANSASTI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Building a Capital From Scratch

As Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, sinks into the sea, the president has embarked on a mission to construct a new capital some 800 miles away on the island of Borneo. Pages A10-14.

BIDEN WILL ALLOW ALLIES TO DELIVER F-16s TO UKRAINE

NO LONGER RELUCTANT

U.S. Approves Training of Pilots but Will Not Send Its Own Jets

This article is by ***David E. Sanger, Jim Tankersley, Michael Crowley*** *and* ***Eric Schmitt.***

HIROSHIMA, Japan — President Biden told U.S. allies on Friday that he would allow Ukrainian pilots to be trained on American-made F-16 fighter jets, moving toward letting other countries give the planes to Ukraine — a major upgrade of the Ukrainian military and a sharp reversal.

Since Russia launched its full-scale invasion of Ukraine 15 months ago, officials in Kyiv have pleaded for advanced warplanes to overcome Russian air superiority. But Mr. Biden had resisted, concerned that the jets could be used to hit targets deep inside Russia, and prompt the Kremlin to escalate the conflict. Pentagon officials have said that other weapons, especially air defenses, were needed more urgently, and the high cost of the F-16s could squeeze out other matériel.

But several European countries that belong to the NATO alliance and have F-16s in their arsenals have called for an international effort to provide the training and transfer of their jets to Ukraine. Doing so would require American permission, because the weapons were first sold to them by the United States. Though not the most advanced U.S. fighter, the F-16 carries powerful radar that can spot targets from hundreds of miles away and modern missiles and other technology that American officials do not want duplicated or falling into hostile hands.

Mr. Biden told other leaders of the Group of 7 nations, the world's wealthiest democracies, of his decision on pilot training, opening a path to supplying Ukraine with fighter jets, at their summit meeting in Hiroshima, Japan.

Jake Sullivan, the national security adviser, said Saturday morning in Hiroshima that the United States and its allies would discuss in the coming months how to supply Kyiv with the jets themselves. The United States is not expected, at least under current plans, to send its own F-16s.

"I welcome the historic decision of the United States and @POTUS to support an international fighter jet coalition. This will greatly enhance our army in the sky," President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, who is expected to address the Group of 7 this weekend, wrote on Twitter.

In a joint statement, the allied leaders said they were committed "to continuing our security assistance to Ukraine as it defends itself against Russia's aggression, tailoring our support to Ukraine's needs." The group vowed to provide "financial, humanitarian, military and diplomatic support

Continued on Page A6

SURPRISE VISIT Ukraine's president urged Arab nations in person to stand with him. PAGE A5

Donors Help DeSantis Stay Frequent Flier

By ALEXANDRA BERZON and REBECCA DAVIS O'BRIEN

For Ron DeSantis, Sunday, Feb. 19, was the start of another busy week of not officially running for president.

That night, he left Tallahassee on a Florida hotelier's private jet, heading to Newark before a meet-and-greet with police officers on Staten Island on Monday morning. Next, he boarded a twin-jet Bombardier to get to a speech in the Philadelphia suburbs, before flying to a Knights of Columbus

JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida

hall outside Chicago, and then home to his day job as governor of Florida.

The tour and others like it were made possible by the convenience of private air travel — and by the largess of wealthy and in some cases secret donors footing the bill.

Ahead of an expected White House bid, Mr. DeSantis has relied heavily on his rich allies to ferry him around the country to test his message and raise his profile. Many of these donors are familiar boosters from Florida, some with business interests before the state, according to a New York Times review of Mr. DeSantis's travel. Others have been shielded from the public by a new nonprofit, The Times found, in an arrangement that drew criticism from ethics experts.

Mr. DeSantis, who is expected

Continued on Page A18

Fleeing Envoys Trap Sudanese In a War Zone

By DECLAN WALSH

In the frantic days before American diplomats evacuated their Khartoum embassy under darkness by helicopter last month, one crucial task remained.

Armed with shredders, sledgehammers and gasoline, American officials, following government protocols, destroyed classified documents and sensitive equipment, officials and eyewitnesses said. By the time Chinook helicopters carrying commandos landed beside the embassy just after midnight on April 23, sacks of shredded paper lined the embassy's four floors.

But the piles also contained paperwork precious to Sudanese citizens — their passports. Many had left them at the embassy days earlier, to apply for American visas. Some belonged to local staff members. As the embassy evacuated, officials who feared the passports, along with other important papers, might fall into the wrong hands reduced them to confetti.

A month later, many of those Sudanese are stranded in the war zone, unable to get out.

"I can hear the warplanes and the bombing from my window," Selma Ali, an engineer who submitted her passport to the U.S. Embassy three days before the war erupted, said over a crackling line from her home in Khartoum. "I'm trapped here with no way out."

It wasn't only the Americans: Many other countries also stranded Sudanese visa applicants when their diplomats evacuated, a source of furious recriminations from Sudanese on social media. But most of those countries did not destroy the passports, instead leaving them locked inside shuttered embassies — inaccessible, but not gone forever.

Of eight other countries that answered questions about the evacuation, only France said it had also destroyed the passports of

Continued on Page A8

JIM BROWN 1936-2023

A Football Great and a Civil Rights Champion

By RICHARD GOLDSTEIN

Jim Brown, the Cleveland Browns fullback who was acclaimed as one of the greatest players in pro football history, and who remained in the public eye as a Hollywood action hero and a civil rights activist, though his name was later tarnished by accusations of violent conduct against women, died on Thursday night at his home in Los Angeles. He was 87.

His family announced his death on Friday on Instagram.

Playing for the Browns from 1957 to 1965 after earning all-American honors at Syracuse University in football and lacrosse, Brown helped take Cleveland to the 1964 National Football League championship.

In any game, he dragged defenders when he wasn't running over them or flattening them with a stiff arm. He eluded them with his footwork when he wasn't sweeping around ends and outrunning them. He never missed a game, piercing defensive lines in 118 consecutive regular-season games, though he played one year with a broken toe and another with a sprained wrist.

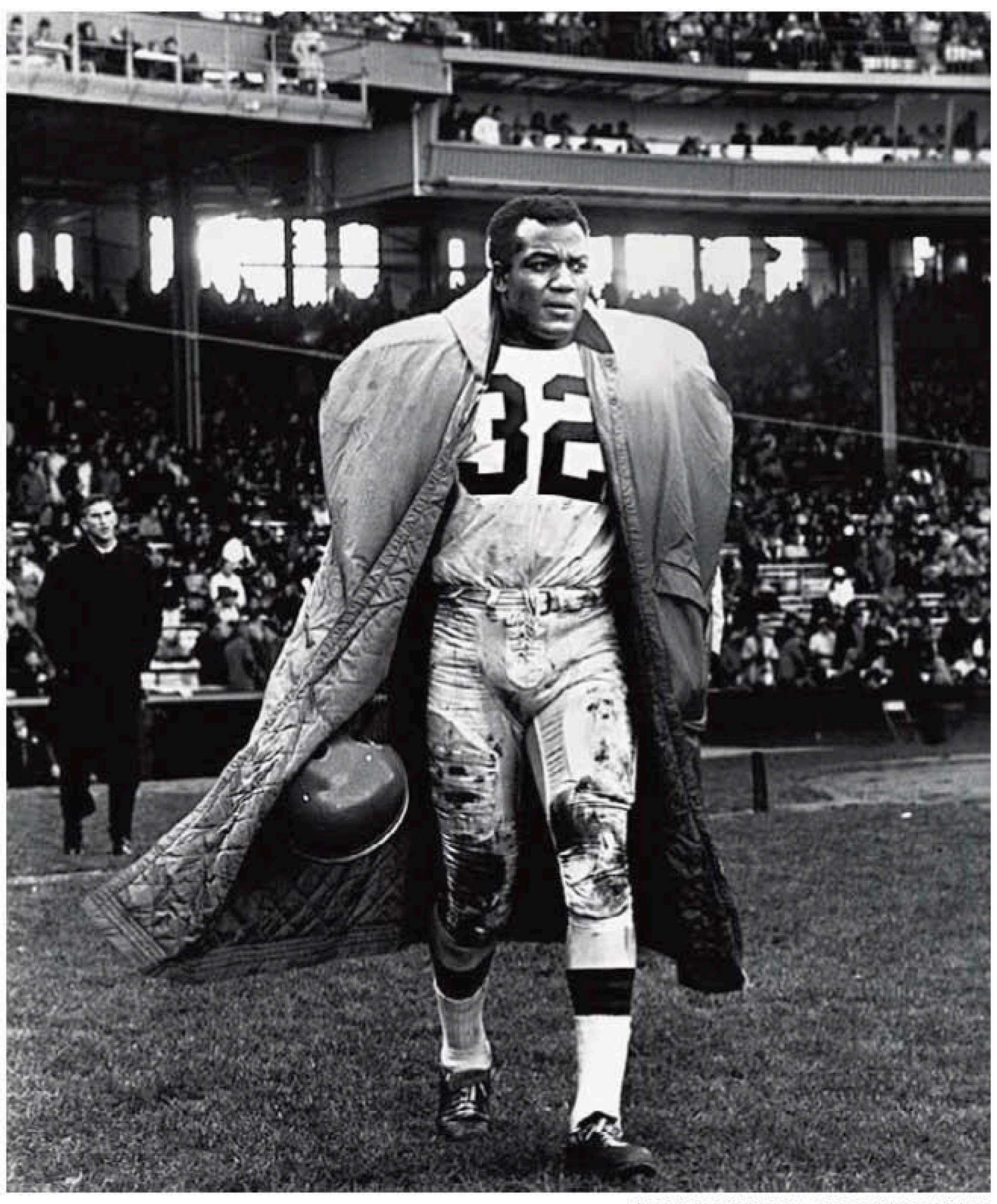
"All you can do is grab, hold, hang on and wait for help," Sam Huff, the Hall of Fame middle linebacker of the Giants and the Washington team, now the Commanders, once told Time magazine.

Brown was voted football's greatest player of the 20th century by a six-member panel of experts assembled by The Associated Press in 1999. A panel of 85 experts selected by NFL Films in 2010 placed him No. 2 all time behind the wide receiver Jerry Rice of the San Francisco 49ers.

He was inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1971, the Lacrosse Hall of Fame in 1984 and the College Football Hall of Fame in 1995.

Brown was still in top form and only 30 years old when he stunned the football world in the summer

Continued on Page A20



TONY TOMSIC VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Jim Brown on the sideline during a game in Cleveland in 1963.

After So Many Years at the Levers of Power, a Struggle to Let Go

By ANNIE KARNI

WASHINGTON — Former Senator Tom Harkin, Democrat of Iowa, has put on a suit nine times since 2014, when he retired after serving in Congress for 40 years. He counts.

He spends much of his time in the Bahamas now, where he sails and rarely looks back at his years in the Senate with any wistfulness.

"People hang on because they want to get something else done," he said in an interview last year, "but that's the story of life, isn't it?"

Giving up the power, perks and prestige of serving in Congress, while confronting the reality that everyone is ultimately replace-

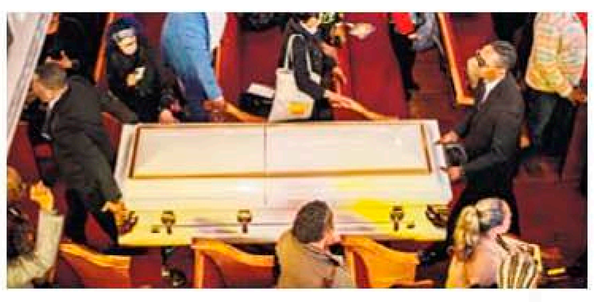
CONGRESSIONAL MEMO

able, isn't always so easy. And politics at its highest levels tends to attract people who consider their job their identity — Senator Dianne Feinstein refers to hers as a "calling" — and who are afflicted with an inability to imagine a life after giving it up.

History is littered with lawmakers who have stayed around well past their primes; assurances from former colleagues like Mr. Harkin that there's a nice life to be had on the other side can fall on (sometimes literally) deaf ears.

Strom Thurmond, the South Carolina Republican, famously

Continued on Page A17



NATIONAL A15-21, 24

Somber Day in Harlem

Hundreds gathered to mourn Jordan Neely, the man who was choked to death on the subway. PAGE A15

New Trouble for Trump Ally

The Manhattan district attorney's office is considering a new round of charges against Allen H. Weisselberg. PAGE A16

INTERNATIONAL A4-14

Feelings and Furry Friends

The South Korean poet Hwang In-suk gains inspiration from feeding stray cats on late-night walks through Seoul. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A4

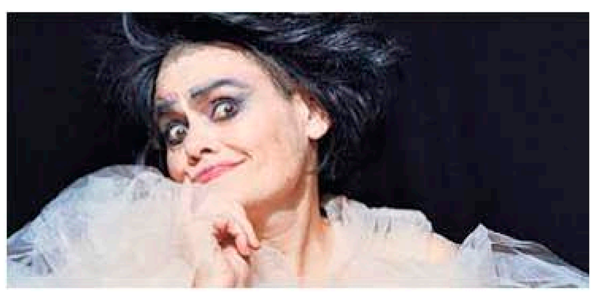
Floods Ravage Northern Italy

At least 14 died and thousands were homeless as some areas got half of their annual rainfall in 36 hours. PAGE A9

TRAVEL C7-8

A City She Loved to Hate

When Mari Sandoz fled the Sandhills of Nebraska, she reluctantly found fertile creative ground in Lincoln. PAGE C7



ARTS C1-6

Near, Far and Now in Brooklyn

Jibz Cameron, who performs as Dynasty Handbag, is the creative force behind "Titanic Depression." PAGE C1

Surprise Guest at PEN Gala

The novelist Salman Rushdie, who was gravely wounded at a literary event last year, opened with a joke. PAGE C1

BUSINESS B1-5

Financial Planning's A.I. Future

The investment industry is plotting how to incorporate tools like ChatGPT into its products, but the input from a human adviser will still be needed to provide personal advice. PAGE B1

1 in 5 Young Chinese Is Jobless

The youth unemployment rate, which spiked during the pandemic, reached a record high this week. And 12 million graduates are expected to enter the job pool next month. PAGE B1

OPINION A22-23

Lisa Belkin PAGE A23

SPORTS B6-10

Waiting on the Weather

The P.G.A. Championship, played in meteorologically challenging western New York, is a test for even the most skilled forecasters. PAGE B7

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Inside The Times

The New York Times

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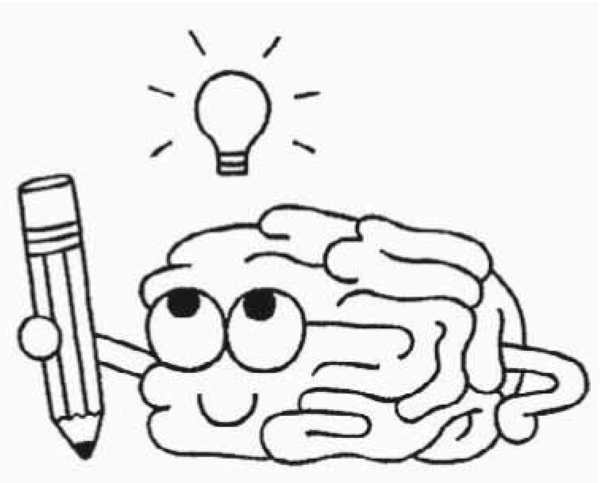
The News Quiz



JORDAN AWAN

Did you follow the headlines this week?
Take our quiz to find out.

1. Ukraine said this week that it had successfully thwarted a Russian attack that used what type of advanced weapons?

a. Amphibious tanks
b. Electromagnetic warheads
c. Hypersonic missiles
d. Microwave beams
e. Tactical nukes

2. It was revealed this week that the Sports Illustrated swimsuit issue will have its oldest-ever cover model. Who is she?

a. Dolly Parton
b. Helen Mirren
c. Martha Stewart
d. Melania Trump
e. Kris Jenner

3. A Times analysis found that major coastal cities — including Washington, San Francisco and San Jose — have started to lose what demographic group in the past few years?

a. Blue-collar workers
b. College graduates
c. Families with young children
d. People below the poverty line
e. Recent immigrants

4. Devastating floods killed at least eight people and displaced thousands more in the northern part of which country?

a. Colombia
b. Finland
c. Indonesia
d. Italy
e. Pakistan

5. What media company filed for bankruptcy this week?

a. BuzzFeed
b. Drudge Report
c. Gawker
d. Vice
e. Vox

ADEM ALTAN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Supporters of Recep Tayyip Erdogan waved flags in Ankara after polls closed.

6. Turkey held presidential elections this week. What was the outcome?

a. The incumbent, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, won re-election.
b. The challenger, Kemal Kilicdaroglu, unseated Mr. Erdogan.
c. Mr. Erdogan and Mr. Kilicdaroglu are going to a runoff.
d. The race was a tie and will be decided by the Supreme Court.
e. There will be another vote because of widespread fraud.

7. An antique document known as the Codex Sassoon sold for $38 million this week. What is the content of the manuscript?

a. A Shakespeare play
b. Egyptian hieroglyphs
c. The Hebrew Bible
d. The first known novel
e. The U.S. Constitution

8. States advanced several Republican-led measures this week. Of the following, which one did *not* happen?

a. Florida's governor signed a law barring children from attending drag shows.
b. Montana's governor signed a law banning TikTok.
c. Nevada's Senate passed a bill to revoke the legalization of marijuana.
d. South Carolina's House passed a bill to ban abortion after six weeks.
e. Texas' Legislature passed a bill to ban transgender medical care for minors.

9. A Democrat won the mayoral election this week in what city, where Republicans have been in power for all but four of the last 30 years?

a. Gainesville, Ga.
b. Greenville, S.C.
c. Jackson, Miss.
d. Jacksonville, Fla.
e. Rapid City, S.D.

10. A Minnesota man was indicted this week on charges that he stole what famous movie prop?

a. A light saber from "Star Wars"
b. A necklace from "Titanic"
c. Ruby slippers from "The Wizard of Oz"
d. The briefcase from "Pulp Fiction"
e. The cane from "Citizen Kane"

The News Quiz is published on Fridays in the Morning newsletter. To sign up, visit nytimes.com/themorning.

Solutions: 1. C; 2. C; 3. B; 4. D; 5. D; 6. C; 7. C; 8. C; 9. D; 10. C.

The Newspaper and Beyond

TODAY'S PAPER

Corrections A19	Opinion A22-23
Crossword C3	Weather B12
Obituaries B11	Classified Ads B8

SCIENCE PROJECT Shifts in bird populations can be a sign of climate change. This summer, Times readers are invited to participate in a project with the Cornell Lab of Ornithology, gathering observations about the birds around us and filling in data gaps. Sign up at *nytimes.com/science.*

AUDIO Sam Altman, OpenAI's chief executive, urged Congress this week to pass legislation to regulate artificial intelligence. But will it actually happen? On the "Hard Fork" podcast, the technology reporter Cecilia Kang discussed the prospect. Listen at *nytimes.com/hardfork.*

LEARNING NETWORK As the school year winds down, The Learning Network offered 10 exercises that can help both students and teachers think about their growth and what it means for next year. Find the guide at *nytimes.com/learning.*

Quote of the Day

"The U.S. diplomats evacuated their own citizens but they didn't think of the Sudanese. We are human, too."

SELMA ALI, *an engineer who submitted her passport to the U.S. Embassy in Khartoum just before the war began. Her passport, and others, was soon destroyed by American diplomats, who were then evacuated from Sudan. Page A1.*

Today's Top Trending Headlines

Disney Pulls Plug on $1 Billion Development in Florida Amid an ongoing feud with Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida, Disney has pulled the plug on an office complex that was scheduled for construction in Orlando at a cost of roughly $1 billion. The complex would have created more than 2,000 jobs in the area, with an average salary of $120,000. In a memo viewed by The Times, a Disney executive cited "changing business conditions" as a reason for canceling the project.

Feinstein Suffered More Complications From Illness Than Were Publicly Disclosed Senator Dianne Feinstein, Democrat of California, 89, arrived at the Capitol last week after a more than two-month absence and appeared diminished. In February, Ms. Feinstein was hospitalized for shingles and experienced complications, some of which she has not publicly disclosed. Times reporters wrote that her condition has resurfaced questions about whether she is fit to continue serving.

1 in 5 Young Chinese Is Jobless, and Millions More Are About to Graduate The Chinese government reported that the youth unemployment rate reached a record high in April, with 20.4 percent of job seekers ages 16 to 24 out of work. High youth unemployment was exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic and China's strict health restrictions. Claire Fu interviewed a college student who had received five responses to about 100 job applications she'd submitted.

Why Ted Lasso's Shoe Game Is So Strong Sarah Bahr interviewed Jason Sudeikis, the star and creator of Apple TV+'s "Ted Lasso," about how his love of sneakers has inspired his character's stylish footwear for three seasons. "People would come into my trailer, and they'd say, 'Oh my gosh' — it would look like the back room of a Foot Locker," Mr. Sudeikis said.

A Headline From History

A CRACKDOWN ON HORN HONKERS JANGLES NERVES OF MISCREANTS

May 20, 1973. Car, truck and taxicab horn-blowers were "blowing their tops" as New York City's new anti-noise campaign went into effect in parts of Manhattan, The Times reported. Honking when there was no "imminent danger" was a violation; first-time offenders were served with a summons to appear in criminal court and had to pay a fine of $50. Honking would cost repeat offenders up to $250 in fines. A passenger in a taxi whose driver was given a summons called the campaign "ridiculous," adding, "Why not get after the crooks and killers, instead?" Enrico Cipolla, who was driving a truck to Secaucus, N.J., was given a summons at a busy intersection near the Port Authority Bus Terminal. "Garbage!" he shouted. Thirty years later, in 2003, New York City expanded its efforts to punish noisemakers when it launched the 311 phone line, which continues to track the locations of noise complaints.

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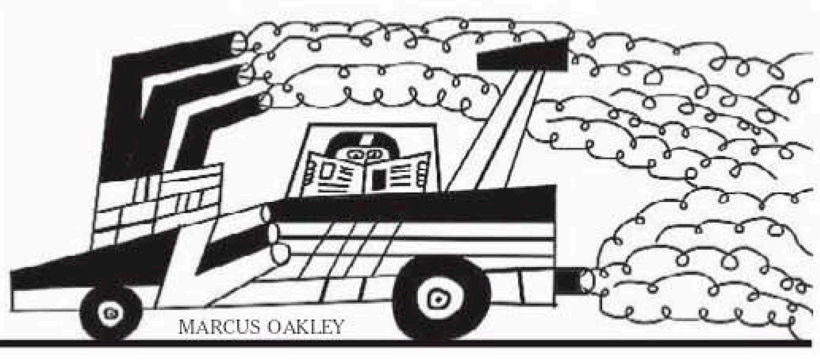


MARCUS OAKLEY

Facts of Interest

South Korea's celebrated poet Hwang In-suk spends many of her evenings feeding Seoul's stray cats, whom she calls her muses. About one-fifth of her oeuvre has been cat-related.

Poetry Gleaned From Darkness and Lots of Fur A4

The overall generative A.I. market is expected to exceed $109 billion by 2030, growing 35.6 percent a year on average until then.

A.I. Spurs an Industry to Detect It B1

"Indiana Jones and the Dial of Destiny," part of the five-film adventure franchise starring Harrison Ford, is the first in the series to be directed by someone other than Steven Spielberg. This time, it's James Mangold ("Walk the Line," "Logan").

Bidding a Teary Goodbye To Indiana Jones C2

The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, Japan, on Aug. 6, 1945, generated heat close to 14,000 degrees Fahrenheit by one calculation and destroyed or damaged 60,000 of the city's 90,000 buildings.

As 'Prospect of Armageddon' Lingers, G-7 Leaders Visit Hiroshima A4

Chronic traumatic encephalopathy can be diagnosed only after death, and doctors are still years away from developing a test to detect the disease in the living.

Why Do Some Players in the N.F.L. Get C.T.E. While Others Do Not? B8

According to the free expression group PEN America, 46 of the 52 jailed writers who have received its annual Freedom to Write award were subsequently released in part because of the group's efforts to highlight their cases.

Rushdie Appears at PEN Gala C1

Might We Suggest . . .

Four Weekend Recommendations From Around the Newsroom

1 Exploring the World Through Chiles

Many of the world's cultures use hot chiles in their dishes. Think som tam, Thailand's spicy green papaya salad, or bunny chow, the hollowed-out loaf of bread filled with spicy curry common in South Africa. Belkis Wille, a human rights researcher, made her way through Mexico to learn how to prepare many of the country's regional hot dishes, including a scorching stuffed manzano. Are you feeling the heat? *nytimes.com/food*

2 (Finally) Clearing Your Closet

Maybe a sale of your unwanted clothing wouldn't attract lines around the block, like that of the actress Chloë Sevigny. But if any of your clothes no longer bring you joy, as Marie Kondo said, consider selling, or donating them. You could help the earth and your wallet. Plus, you'll make room for a new wardrobe. Win-win. *nytimes.com/fashion*

DANE MANARY

3 Taking Care of Your Allergies — and Your Mood

Gesundheit! The sneezing and nose blowing that accompany seasonal allergies can be physically exhausting. But new research shows that allergies can also take a toll on your emotional health. Don't ignore feelings of anxiety and depression. If you're not feeling like yourself this allergy season, experts suggested talking to your doctor and being specific about the symptoms you're experiencing. *nytimes.com/well*

4 Mastering the Art of Ordering a Cocktail

"Shaken, not stirred." "On the rocks." "Carcass out." A cocktail is often only as good as how you choose to order it. But a full bar and an attentive mixologist can be intimidating for most people. If you're unsure where to start, or don't have a specific drink in mind, J.M. Hirsch, the author of "Pour Me Another," said to describe to a bartender what you like in a beverage. You can use words like "refreshing," "sweet" or even "warm." If you're still stumped, he recommended asking the bartender: "What would you suggest?" *nytimes.com/magazine*

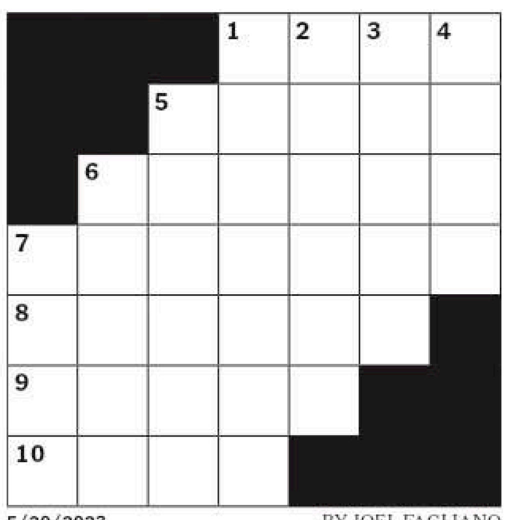
Second Look

Not What the Doctor Ordered

CATH VIRGINIA

The United States is experiencing a severe drug shortage, leading to the rationing of even some chemotherapy drugs for cancer patients. Generic drug prices have fallen by about 50 percent since 2016, but the tradeoff is a myriad of problems in the byzantine world of drug manufacturing, including quality control failures at overseas plants and supply chain issues. Drugs can't deliver a cure if pharmacy shelves are empty.

The Mini Crossword



5/20/2023 BY JOEL FAGLIANO

ACROSS

1 Baby's bed
5 To-do around the house
6 It shares a 1,538-mile border with Canada
7 Very much in love
8 Tidied, as hair
9 Ann ___, Mich.
10 Word before "in show" or "in class"

DOWN

1 A.I. conversation partner
2 Team listing
3 Annoyed
4 The ___, nickname for Chicago's Cloud Gate sculpture
5 Mountaineer's undertakings
6 Love, in Italian
7 Sign of a wound's healing

SOLUTION TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

	E	G	A	D
B	R	U	T	E
U	N	I	O	N
F	I	L	M	
F	E	D		

Here to Help

Five Movies to Watch on Netflix Right Now

'Bad Boys' (1995)

Recall the heady mid-1990s when Michael Bay, a young director of commercials and music videos, made his feature debut with a buddy-cop movie. It became the film that confirmed Will Smith and Martin Lawrence (then known primarily as sitcom actors) were big-screen material, and understandably so — both are hip and funny in Bay's over-the-top action scenes. Their shenanigans are boosted by Téa Leoni's charismatic supporting work.

'Chicken Run' (2000)

Aardman Animations, the British stop-motion studio, made its feature debut with this delightful cross between barnyard farce and prison escape caper. A headstrong hen enlists a cocky circus rooster named Rocky (voiced by Mel Gibson) to help her and her friends flee their henhouse before the evil farmer turns them into pies. The animation is, per the company's standard, breathtakingly meticulous.

'Glass Onion' (2022)

The writer and director Rian Johnson follows up his whodunit hit "Knives Out" with this delightfully clever comedy-mystery, featuring the further adventures of the world's greatest detective, Benoit Blanc (Daniel Craig). Johnson constructs a classic detective story, again focusing on the haves and have-nots, as a gang of rich pals meet up on the isolated island of a Silicon Valley millionaire (Edward Norton). Janelle Monáe steals the show as the interloper who's not what she seems.

DREAMWORKS PICTURES

Rocky the rooster is voiced by Mel Gibson.

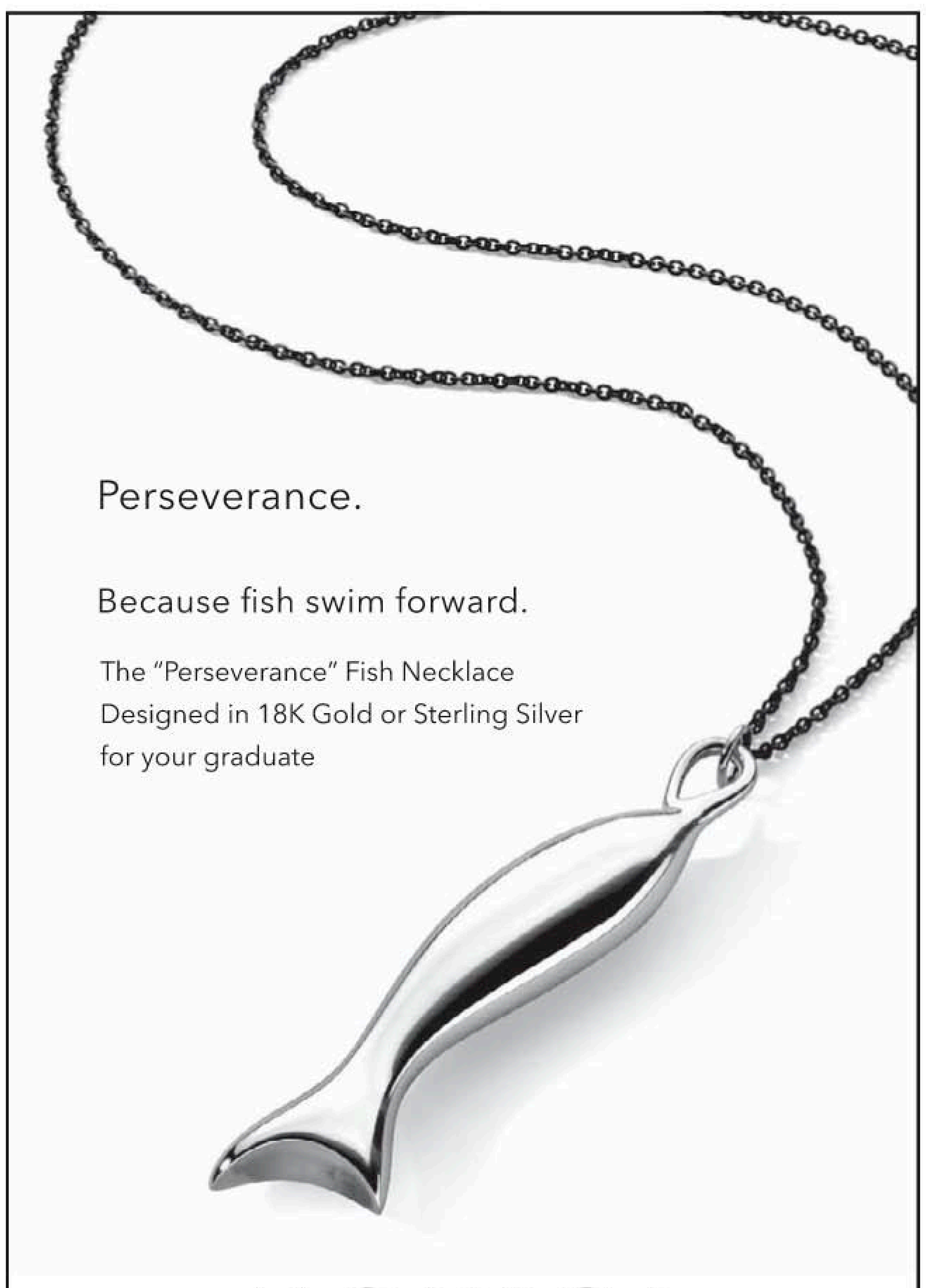
'Inside Man' (2006)

An armed robber (Clive Owen) takes over a Wall Street bank, holding its customers hostage. His motives are a puzzle, confounding the hostage negotiator (Denzel Washington). The director Spike Lee fills his frames with New York characters: wiseguy cops, gawkers and power brokers. But in this film, the most fascinating character is Owen's master criminal.

'Traffic' (2000)

Steven Soderbergh won an Oscar for best director for this take on the war on drugs. He tells it in three stories, all with the energy of a ground-level documentary. The result is a panorama of a film, its aesthetics masterfully matching the geopolitical complexity of its subject. Top performances are turned in by Benicio Del Toro (who won a best supporting Oscar), Catherine Zeta-Jones and Michael Douglas. JASON BAILEY

For more recommendations, visit nytimes.com/watching.



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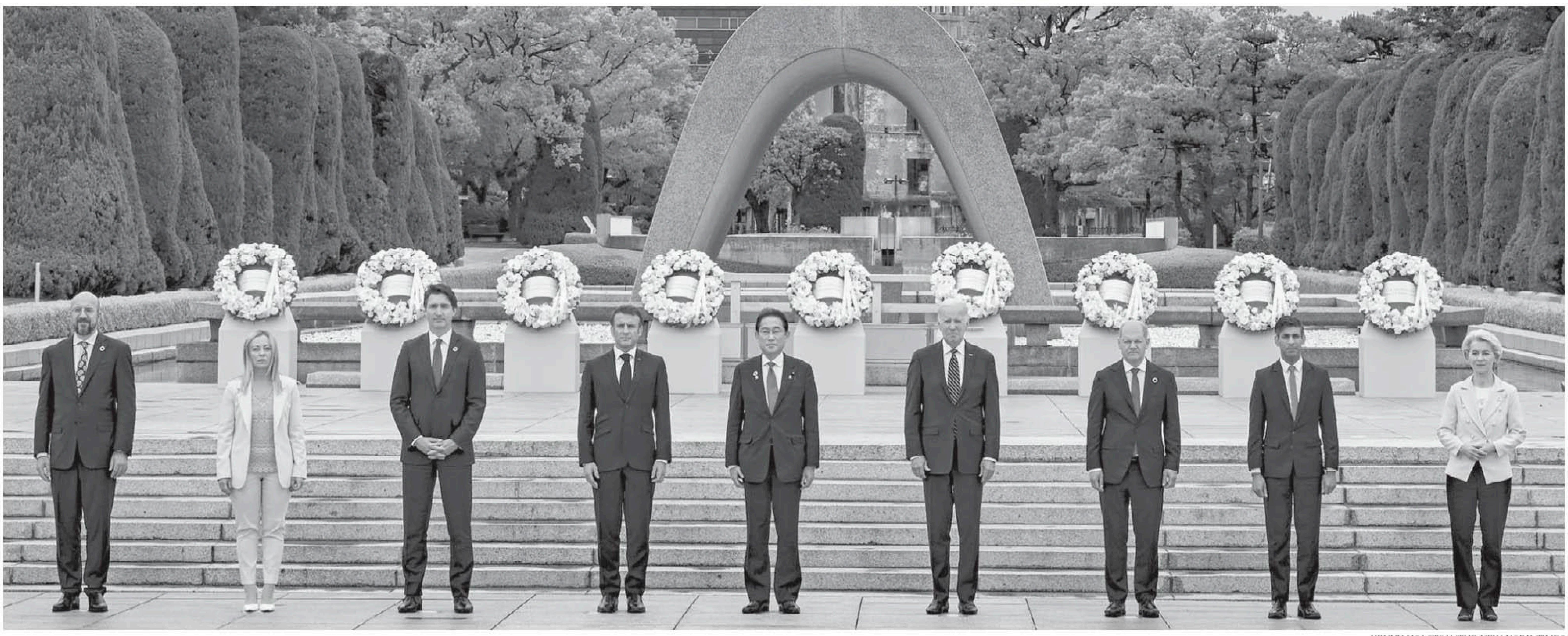


KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden, fourth from right, Friday at a wreath-laying ceremony in Hiroshima, Japan, with the other G-7 leaders. Despite talk of the dangers, nuclear proliferation has escalated in recent years.

As 'Prospect of Armageddon' Lingers, G-7 Leaders Visit Hiroshima

By PETER BAKER

HIROSHIMA, Japan — President Biden was 2 years old when the nuclear era opened with a blast of devastation unlike any the world had ever seen. Seventy-eight years later, he came on Friday to ground zero of the first atomic bomb used in warfare to pay tribute to the dead.

Mr. Biden and other world leaders met privately with a survivor, toured a museum, laid wreaths at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial and planted a tree. The president stared solemnly at the Cenotaph for the Atomic Bomb Victims as the city's mayor described the monument. But the president offered no comments on what he saw, much less the apology some Japanese still wish the United States would provide.

Mr. Biden's visit came at a pivotal moment in the atomic age, with the "prospect of Armageddon," as he has described it, greater than at any time since the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia has hinted ominously that he may yet unleash nuclear weapons to salvage his flailing invasion of Ukraine. And rather than moving away from the kind of destruction represented by Hiroshima, the world is seeing more such arms being built and fewer constraints being imposed on their spread.

"I worry a lot that we are moving in the wrong direction, that we are less secure, and I worry we will see nuclear weapons used in our lifetimes," said Jon B. Wolfsthal, a former arms control adviser to President Barack Obama and now a senior adviser to Global Zero, a group that advocates abolishing nuclear weapons.

The visit to the Hiroshima memorial served as a symbolic opener to this year's Group of 7 summit meeting of major industrial democracies, where the war in Ukraine will be a major topic of discussion. Prime Minister Fumio Kishida of Japan, who is hosting the gathering and represents Hiroshima in Parliament, hoped to highlight efforts to rid the world of nuclear weapons.

"Through their visit to the Peace Memorial Park, the G7 leaders deepened their understanding of the reality of the atomic bombings and joined their hearts in consoling the souls of lost lives," the Japanese foreign ministry said in a statement. "The G7 leaders reiterated their position that threats by Russia of nuclear weapon use, let alone its use, are inadmissible."

But there appeared to be no major new initiatives in the works to achieve that goal; if anything, nuclear proliferation has only escalated in recent years. Russia recently suspended its last major nuclear arms control treaty with the United States, the New START agreement that limited warheads and delivery systems. North Korea has expanded its own nuclear arsenal as diplomatic efforts to persuade it to reverse course have failed. Mr. Biden's effort to revive Mr. Obama's pact with Iran, intended to prevent it from developing nuclear weapons, has all but collapsed. And the Pentagon warns that

Concern as Russia hints about using nuclear arms in its war with Ukraine.

China could more than double its nuclear arsenal, to 1,000 warheads, by 2030.

America's mission to stem the spread of nuclear weapons has always been complicated by its own history of having introduced them to modern warfare. "The United States is the only country in the world that has twice used nuclear weapons, destroying the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and setting a precedent," Mr. Putin said last fall while annexing eastern portions of Ukraine.

The matter has always been a delicate one in Japanese-American relations as well. Mr. Obama became the first sitting U.S. president to visit Hiroshima, in 2016, but he refused to apologize for the bombing, which could have provoked criticism back home among Americans citing the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor that brought the United States into World War II.

Instead, Mr. Obama, who made global nuclear disarmament a long-term goal, sought to use his visit to outline his vision for "a future in which Hiroshima and Nagasaki are known not as the dawn of atomic warfare but as the start of our own moral awakening" — a notion that seems even further from reality seven years later.

A B-29 Superfortress named the Enola Gay dropped the atomic bomb, named Little Boy, on Hiroshima on Aug. 6, 1945. The blast generated heat close to 14,000 degrees Fahrenheit by one calculation and destroyed or damaged 60,000 of the city's 90,000 buildings; an estimated 140,000 people died, most of them civilians. A second bomb was dropped three days later on Nagasaki. Within a week, Japan had announced that it would surrender, bringing an end to the deadliest war in human history.

Debate has raged ever since about President Harry S. Truman's decision to use the newly developed weapon without a more explicit warning or a demonstration, a decision justified as the best way to force the military-dominated leadership in Tokyo to give up without forcing the United States to mount a bloody amphibious invasion of the home islands.

Hiroshima has long since been rebuilt into a vibrant city of 1.2 million and a manufacturing hub known for heavy industries, such as automobiles, steel and shipbuilding. Bustling shopping areas and lush, tree-filled parkland leave little sense of its legacy of death. The advance of time has left fewer hibakusha, as the survivors are known.

Daryl G. Kimball, executive director of the Arms Control Association, said that how that legacy can be translated into reducing the risk of a new Hiroshima "will be the most important legacy of this G7 summit" but will require active presidential engagement.

"Preventing arms racing, proliferation and nuclear war is a global endeavor," Mr. Kimball said. "But history shows there is no substitute for U.S. leadership in reducing nuclear dangers, and there is no better time than now for President Biden outline his plan to renew nuclear risk reduction and disarmament diplomacy to move us back from the brink."

THE SATURDAY PROFILE

HWANG IN-SUK

Poetry Gleaned From Darkness And Lots of Fur

By MIKE IVES

SEOUL — Most nights, Hwang In-suk pushes a shopping cart up and down the steep alleys of her Seoul neighborhood, trailed by stray cats that emerge from shadows to greet her under glowing streetlamps and convenience store marquees.

Her neighbors tend to think of Ms. Hwang, 64, merely as someone who feeds cats in the street. Only a few know that she is a celebrated poet whose work explores loneliness and impermanence in the South Korean capital.

Her decades of writing cover a time in which South Korea has cycled through a dizzying number of identities, including those of a country ruled by repressive military dictatorships, a fledgling democracy and, most recently, an economic power and international cultural juggernaut.

Ms. Hwang said her nocturnal cat-feeding routine allows her to quietly observe not only cats, her favorite muses, but also her changing neighborhood and the underclass of a megacity that is increasingly known for its flashy exterior.

"I've found worlds that I wouldn't have found if I had not been feeding cats at night," she said in a near whisper on a recent walk through her neighborhood, Haebangchon. The streets were mostly silent except for the occasional car, taxi or delivery truck.

In addition to cats and other subjects, Ms. Hwang's poetry documents the milieu of convenience store clerks, street sweepers and other late-night workers. "I don't even know his face as we meet only in the dark," she writes of a newspaper deliveryman in a recent poem called "Don't Know Where You Live":

He wouldn't know my face either but
How come he recognizes me so well
We live at night

Haebangchon, or Liberation Village, lies near Seoul's central train station and what was once the main U.S. military base in the country. The neighborhood was carved out of a hillside forest after the end of World War II, when Korea emerged from Japanese colonial rule.

Many of the people who settled there were North Korean refugees who arrived during or after the Korean War, said Pil Ho Kim, an expert on South Korean cultural history at Ohio State, whose father grew up in the neighborhood after fleeing the North.

In the decades after the war, South Korea experienced dramatic upheavals, including rapid industrialization, a presidential assassination and a massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators. So did Haebangchon, a place initially known as a "moon village," a term for urban slums built on hillsides.

In the 1970s, South Korean economic migrants helped turn Haebangchon into a hub for small-scale garment factories. It later grew more residential and less working class, and began to attract young artists. Many artists' studios were in turn displaced by cafes as the gentrification continued, said Cha Kyoung-hee, 38, who has owned a bookstore in the neighborhood since 2015.

Ms. Hwang, who grew up nearby and settled in Haebangchon in the 1980s, has been quietly observing the details of these changes ever since with a keen eye. She settled on a career in poetry after studying creative writing at a Seoul arts institute and made her debut with a poem, "I'll Be Reborn as a Cat," that won a 1984 award for emerging South Korean writers. It was the first of many national literary prizes that she would win over the years.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JUN MICHAEL PARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'I've found worlds that I wouldn't have found if I had not been feeding cats at night.'

An eminent poet, Ms. Hwang has won several national literary prizes.

She said her poetry partly reflects her conviction that Seoul is a place where the rich and poor live in separate worlds, and the downtrodden are victims of cutthroat competition.

"They were not willing to cheat others to advance themselves in this society," she said during a recent walk, her breath escaping in tiny clouds as she rounded a bend of a dark, hillside alley. The lights of skyscrapers blinked in the city below.

Her poems tend to fuse details of her corner of Seoul, a city of about 10 million people, with the emotions of their wry, melancholic speakers. One describes Haebangchon's roads as leading "always uphill/like my life."

But Ms. Hwang is perhaps best known for poems that make wistful, whimsical observations about cats, and the humans who struggle to understand them. She said about one-fifth of her oeuvre has been cat-related.

For the last 16 or so years, Ms. Hwang has been feeding cats almost every night, usually out of recycled instant-rice containers. Each cat has a designated dining spot — under a parked car, say, or among a restaurant's garbage bins. Some approach her in the manner of a familiar old friend, meowing as they rub against her legs. Others need to be coaxed out of hiding places with a soft *psst*.

Ms. Hwang said her cat-feeding routine started when a single stray began turning up, hungry, outside her apartment. Some of the dozens of cats she now cares for have names; most she just calls "pretty."

"I do this because the cats are waiting for me, and no one else is willing to do it," she said flatly. "It's a duty."

But her affectionate manner with the cats — and her many poems about their quirks and personalities — suggests her relationship with them is more than perfunctory.

Anne M. Rashid, a professor of English literature who translated some of Ms. Hwang's work with a late colleague, Chae-Pyong Song, said she was particularly fond of this passage from the poem "Ran, My Former Cat":

I didn't know where you came from.
Always all of a sudden
you appeared
at a time when nobody was around
at a time when time belonged to
nobody,
hanging about the roof of a rented
house
as if from inside my heart,
as if from the edge of the moon
with a small half-cry,
you appeared.

Throughout the poem, which ends with the cat disappearing "to a place where you couldn't invite me," the speaker wishes to hold or touch her muse but knows it's not possible, said Professor Rashid, who teaches literature at Carlow University in Pittsburgh.

"They have a bond, regardless, in their solitariness," she added.

When Ms. Cha hosted Ms. Hwang for a reading at her bookstore last year, the audience was unusually diverse for such an event, and included former residents of the neighborhood who missed it and wanted to hear descriptions of its earlier incarnations. Some cried when they heard her poems read aloud.

Ms. Hwang said she shares a cramped apartment with two ailing, rescued strays, one of them named Lauren after the Hollywood actress Lauren Bacall. She does not own a cellphone and has never earned a living through anything other than poetry.

"She's not the type of person who tells people who she is," said Yang Jung-ok, 60, who owns a restaurant in Haebangchon and has known Ms. Hwang for years.

Ms. Yang said she has long admired her soft-spoken neighbor for spending so much of her limited income on food for stray cats. But she only learned of Ms. Hwang's poetry from a journalist who accompanied her to the restaurant and mentioned in passing that she was an eminent poet.

During the recent walk, Ms. Hwang seemed surprised that a reporter would be interested in her work, and declined an invitation to recite a poem of her choice. "I can't say which one would bring a reader joy," she said, shortly before midnight.

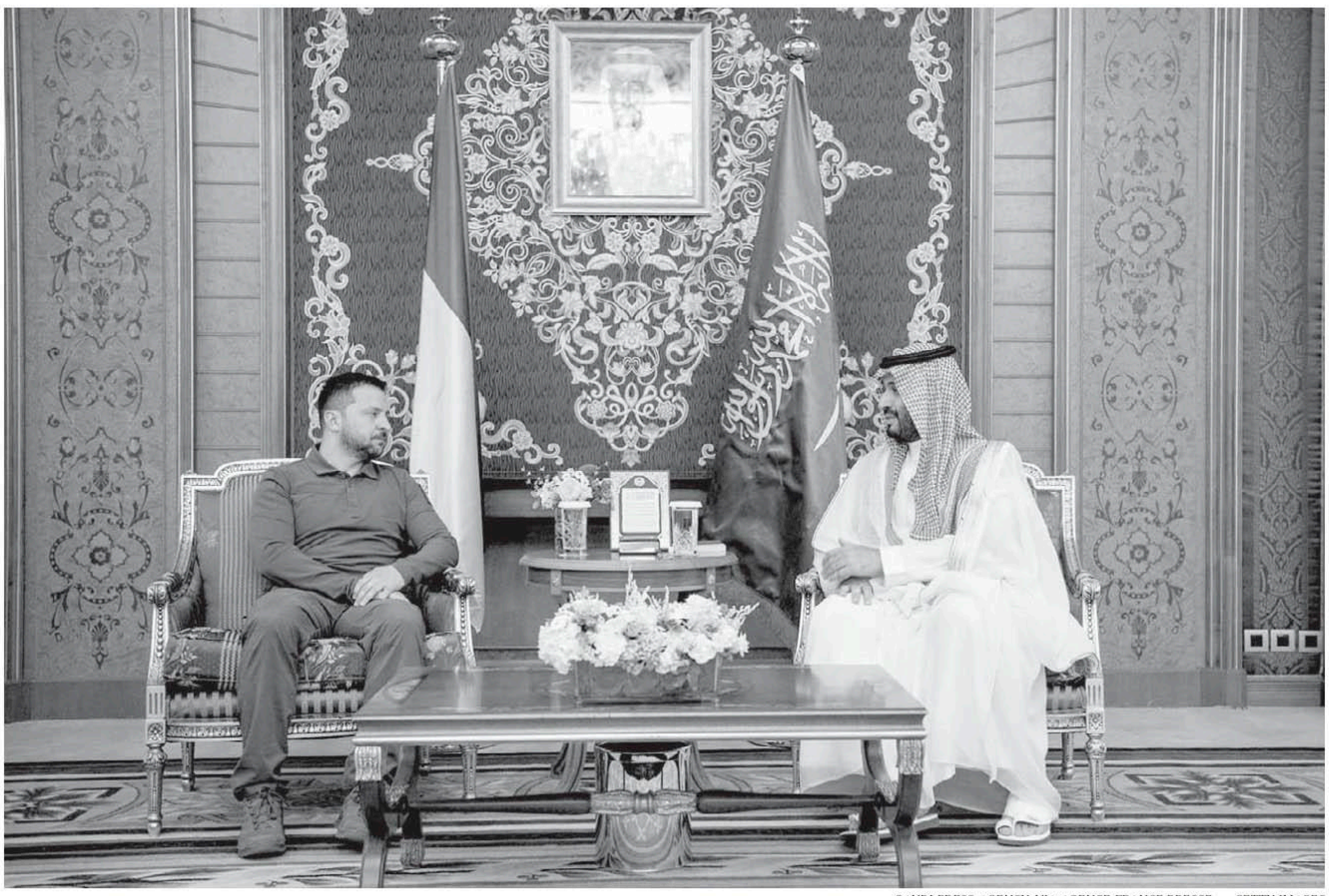
The humans in her poems also tend to keep low profiles. In "Above the Roofs," the speaker marvels at how the energy within cats' bodies sends them soaring in the air to a "vast territory" above rooftops. Then — in a delicate, almost catlike way — she places herself in their midst.

In this city where back alleys have
disappeared,
on the back alleys above the roofs,
on these alleys above, so to speak,
gently I place my breath.

Youmi Kim contributed reporting.

War in Ukraine

At Arab League Event, Zelensky Asks for Help From Russian Partners



SAUDI PRESS AGENCY, VIA AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, left, in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, on Friday with Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman.

By VIVIAN NEREIM

JEDDAH, Saudi Arabia — President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine implored Arab leaders meeting in Saudi Arabia on Friday not to bend to Russian influence, as he continued a diplomatic tour to build international support ahead of a widely anticipated Ukrainian counteroffensive.

Mr. Zelensky made a surprise visit to Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, to attend the annual Arab League summit, where he addressed countries that have maintained warm relations with Russia. In his speech, Mr. Zelensky appealed to the rulers — some of whom have overseen massacres and filled prisons with opponents — to help save Ukrainians "from the cages of Russian prisons."

"Unfortunately there are some in the world, and here among you, who turn a blind eye to those cages and illegal annexations," he said. "I am here so that everyone can take an honest look, no matter how hard the Russians try to influence."

His remarks seemed especially pointed given that for the first time in more than a decade, the Arab leaders were welcoming back to the fold Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad, who relied heavily on Russian military support to wage war against his own people. He had largely been shunned, regionally and internationally, since 2011, when he began violently suppressing Syria's Arab Spring uprising, using chemical weapons against his own people at some points in a civil war that killed hundreds of thousands.

Despite pressure from the United States, many Arab states have avoided taking sides since Moscow invaded Ukraine nearly 15 months ago, saying that they do not want to be dragged into a competition between superpowers and must be able to pursue their own interests.

Dubai, in the United Arab Emirates, has emerged as a wartime harbor for wealthy Russians, while the Emirati capital, Abu Dhabi, hosted a prisoner exchange between Russia and the United States late last year.

Saudi officials have attempted to maintain good relations with both parties in the conflict. They pledged $400 million in aid to Ukraine even as they coordinated with Russia and other oil producers in the OPEC Plus cartel to bolster energy prices, angering American officials.

"All Arab countries have excellent relations with Ukraine that predate this crisis, and likewise we are eager to preserve our relationships with Russia," the Saudi foreign minister, Prince Faisal bin Farhan, said during a news conference after the summit. "There is a war that we have to find a way to end, and that won't happen without being open to hearing all parties and all voices."

Mr. Zelensky was invited to the summit by Saudi Arabia, where he met with the kingdom's leader, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman — often referred to by his initials, M.B.S. — and thanked him for his support. The Ukrainian leader is scheduled to appear at the Group of 7 summit in Hiroshima, Japan, this weekend to seek further commitments for arms and aid from the world's wealthiest democracies, amid a flurry of trips to build support ahead of the expected counteroffensive.

The invitation came at a time when Prince Mohammed, 37, is carving out a new role for himself on the global stage, portraying himself as a bridge-builder and mediator. When the prince began his rise to power in 2015, he pursued an aggressive foreign policy, including a disastrous military intervention in neighboring Yemen that has contributed to one of the world's worst humanitarian crises.

But his approach has shifted toward de-escalating conflicts over the past few years, as he focuses on his plan to diversify Saudi Arabia's oil-dependent economy.

In March, the Saudi government announced it would re-establish diplomatic relations with its longtime rival, Iran, and this month Saudi officials hosted talks between warring parties in Sudan.

"M.B.S. is determined to return Saudi Arabia to regional and even global leadership — to be at the center of it all," Kristin Diwan, senior resident scholar at the Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington. "The Saudis have a hand in everything at the moment."

The flurry of diplomacy underlines Prince Mohammed's efforts to cement the kingdom's position as a rising power, forging greater independence from the United States, its longtime security guarantor.

Addressing the leaders on Friday, Prince Mohammed told Saudi Arabia's "friends in the West and the East" that the kingdom is focused on peace. He said it was committed to easing Ukraine's humanitarian crisis and is "ready to continue to exert mediation efforts between Russia and Ukraine."

To Abdulkhaleq Abdulla, an Emirati political scientist, Mr. Zelensky's arrival carried multiple messages. One is potentially for Russia: "Enough is enough. Stop the war," he said. At the same time, Gulf countries want their American and European allies to know that "our balanced position on the war between Russia and Ukraine does not mean we are siding with Russia," he said.

Mr. Zelensky said that another priority for his meetings with Arab leaders was to discuss the security of Ukrainian Muslims, including Crimean Tatars, a long marginalized group whose homeland Russia has occupied since 2014. It was an example of how Mr. Zelensky has sought to tailor his messages to foreign audiences during the war.

"Look at how much suffering the long-term wars have brought to Libya, Syria, Yemen," he said. "How many lives have been wasted by years of fighting in Sudan and Somalia, in Iraq and Afghanistan."

Mr. Zelensky's appearance also swiftly sucked attention away from the gathering's most attention-grabbing guest, Mr. al-Assad.

Russian military support was key to Mr. al-Assad's survival in Syria's civil war, and Russian forces used tactics in Syria, including strikes against civilian targets, that they have since employed in Ukraine.

Mr. al-Assad appeared to receive a warm welcome on Friday, when Saudi state television showed Prince Mohammed greeting him with kisses on the cheek. When the prince began his rise to power in 2015, Syria's war was still raging and Saudi Arabia had cut its diplomatic relations with Mr. al-Assad, throwing its support behind some of the rebels fighting him.

Yet earlier this month, Saudi Arabia re-established diplomatic ties with Syria and the Arab League voted to readmit the country, formalizing Mr. al-Assad's reintegration into the region.

Arab officials who supported his return argued that ostracizing him accomplished little, and that at least this way, they can hope to influence developments in Syria that affect the whole region, like the cross-border flow of illicit drugs and the fate of Syrian refugees in neighboring countries.

"The status quo was not sustainable," Prince Faisal, the Saudi foreign minister, said. "We care about finding practical and realistic solutions, and this won't happen except by cooperating and partnering with the government in Damascus."

In his speech, Prince Mohammed said he was pleased Mr. al-Assad had been welcomed back to the league.

"We hope that will contribute to support the stability of Syria and for things to return to normal," he said.

Mr. al-Assad's regional comeback has drawn criticism widely, including from Syrians opposed to his rule and a group of American congressmen, who introduced a bill called the Assad Anti-Normalization Act. Many people in the Middle East are also uncomfortable with the idea of re-legitimizing a leader accused of war crimes.

Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, the ruler of Qatar — which openly opposes normalizing relations with Syria — left the summit on Friday without speaking, in what appeared to be a protest against Mr. al-Assad's presence.

When his own turn came to speak, Mr. al-Assad used his few minutes to castigate the "domination of the West, devoid of principles, morals, friends and partners." The emergence of a multipolar world is "a historic opportunity to rearrange our affairs with the least amount of foreign intervention," he said.

"The most important thing is to leave the internal issues to their people, as they are able to manage their issues," he said.

Hwaida Saad contributed reporting from Beirut, Lebanon; Raja Abdulrahim from Jerusalem and Vivian Yee from Cairo.

'You Are Not Welcome': Protests as Russia Resumes Air Travel With Georgia

TAKO ROBAKIDZE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Demonstrators at Tbilisi International Airport objected to Georgia accepting direct flights from Russia for the first time in four years.

By IVAN NECHEPURENKO

TBILISI, Georgia — As passengers on the first direct flight from Russia to Georgia in more than three years disembarked on Friday, they were met by protesters cursing their arrival.

Shouts of "Why did you come here? Your country is an occupier!" echoed through the arrivals hall at Tbilisi International Airport. Outside, a crowd of about 200 demonstrators unfurled a banner saying "You are not welcome."

"I am only here for a vacation," one passenger replied, running away from a media throng that had gathered to meet the flight.

Russia invaded Georgia in 2008, and it wields military control over 20 percent of its territory. Graffiti that says "Russians go home" is commonplace in Tbilisi, the Georgian capital. A determination to join NATO is enshrined in the former Soviet republic's Constitution.

But with the arrival of Azimuth Airlines Flight A4851 from Moscow on Friday, the tiny country of Georgia in the Caucasus Mountains took a major step toward building closer ties with Moscow. It follows a decree on May 10 by President Vladimir V. Putin ordering the restoration of direct flights from Russia and abolishing visa requirements for Georgian nationals.

The resumption of flights, and the resulting protests on Friday, underscore the tensions within Georgia over its relationship with Russia, and the wariness that many Georgians feel about moving closer to a country that it was at war with 15 years ago, and that last year invaded Ukraine, another former Soviet republic.

The thaw in relations also illustrates Moscow's need to court other governments, whether through friendly outreach or hardball diplomacy, lining up as many partners as it can as most of the Western world turns against it.

Victor Kipiani, chairman of the Geocase think tank in Tbilisi, said the Georgian government is attempting to perform a "balancing act" by trying to keep its overall pro-Western orientation while also exploiting the economic benefits of being next door to Russia.

"The country is a prisoner of its own geography," said Mr. Kipiani, who is also a lawyer. "In the absence of a formidable security umbrella, of course the government is trying to be more soft, cautious, and careful in its actions."

Prime Minister Irakli Garibashvili of Georgia said the decision to resume flights was made with the "interests of the Georgian people" in mind. He said that Georgia is not at risk of facing Western sanctions since the government would only permit airlines that are not subject to sanctions to operate in the country.

Once a pro-Western trailblazer that showcased its confrontation with Moscow as a sign of its growing independence, Georgia has suddenly emerged as one of the few former Soviet republics moving closer to Russia even after its invasion of Ukraine.

In 2008, Georgia fought its own five-day war with its northern neighbor, leaving two of its regions under Moscow's military control. Since then, the countries have severed all diplomatic relations and have no immediate plans to restore them.

Many of its peers, including Kazakhstan and neighboring Armenia, attempted to distance themselves from the Kremlin, diversifying their political and economic aspirations by re-emphasizing their ties with the West.

However, the government in Tbilisi, led by the Georgian Dream party for more than a decade, has faced the urgent challenge of ensuring its continued grip on power. With accumulating voter fatigue, it made the choice to become more authoritarian and anti-Western, said Paata Zakareishvili, a former government minister who has since distanced himself from the party.

"In the end, it appeared that only Russia could help them preserve their rule in that form," said Mr. Zakareishvili, now an analyst, in an interview. "Not the West."

Mr. Putin's decision to restore flights to Georgia and lift the visa requirement for Georgian nationals was "a gift" from the Kremlin to the Georgian government and a recognition of its drift toward Moscow, said Armaz Akhvlediani, a member of Parliament and a disenchanted former leader of Georgian Dream.

The government, in explaining its decision, pointed to the economic and social benefits of cooperating with Moscow in some areas. Direct flights between Georgia and Russia can bring the mountainous nation of 3.7 million people up to $400 million per year, according to its economy minister, Levan Davitashvili. And the visa-free policy with Russia will allow thousands of Georgians to see their relatives in Russia, the government said.

The economic benefits of Georgia's proximity to Russia have only increased with the war in Ukraine. After the invasion, thousands of Russian professionals rushed across the border to Georgia, fleeing repression and the threat of being drafted at home. They have injected more than $2.8 billion into Georgia's small economy according to the country's central bank, and have filled Tbilisi's cafes, bars, and barbershops, while also purchasing Georgian products.

With the current unemployment rate at 17.3 percent in Georgia, many Georgians could consider trying to find work in Russia.

That might help struggling Georgians seeking income, but Mr. Akhvlediani, the lawmaker, said he also worried that it would inevitably raise pro-Russian sentiments in the country.

Throughout its history Georgia has been challenged by the need to preserve its independence in the region that has been the scene of great power politics.

Since emerging as an independent nation in 1991, Georgia has oscillated between periods of rapid reform, civil war, and creeping stagnation. Since coming to power in 2012, the Georgian Dream party has aimed to bring about normalcy and stability.

Initially, Bidzina Ivanishvili, the party's founder and informal leader, has voiced strong support for Georgia's widely popular aspiration to join NATO and the European Union.

However, the party has faced recurrent accusations from activists, lawmakers and many members of the public that Mr. Ivanishvili, a reclusive billionaire who made his fortune in Russia, was secretly backed by the Kremlin.

"He is ruling somewhere from sky and is responsible for nothing," said Mr. Akhvlediani, who has worked extensively with Mr. Ivanishvili.

Thomas de Waal, a leading expert on the region, said he would not describe the government as overly pro-Russian. "The No. 1 priority of this government right now is regime survival," he said in a phone interview, "and they are highly transactional in that regard."

Over the past few years, the party has alienated many of its early supporters, particularly those whose main aim was to remove Georgia's previous firebrand ruler, Mikheil Saakashvili.

In March, the Georgian government spurred tensions and widespread protests in Tbilisi by attempting to introduce a law that could designate people foreign agents — widely viewed as being inspired a similar Russian statute. Thousands of people took to the streets, chanting "No to the Russian law," in front of the Parliament building. After two nights of clashes with the police, the government abandon the proposal.

However, for many, the mere attempt to pass such legislation served as a clear indication of the ruling party's pro-Russian leanings.

Kristina Siritsyan, one of the passengers, said she did not see the resumption of direct flights as a betrayal by Georgia. "I think the opposite," she said as she strode past the demonstrators. "There should be peace and people must be friends."

War In Ukraine

In a Sharp Reversal, Biden Opens a Path for Ukraine to Get Fighter Jets

From Page A1

Ukraine requires for as long as it takes."

Earlier on Friday, Mr. Zelensky had addressed an Arab League summit in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, where he challenged the neutral stance many Arab countries have adopted on the war and implored them to help save Ukrainians "from the cages of Russian prisons."

"Unfortunately there are some in the world, and here among you, who turn a blind eye to those cages and illegal annexations," he said. "I am here so that everyone can take an honest look, no matter how hard the Russians try to influence."

Mr. Zelensky is scheduled to appear at the summit meeting in Hiroshima this weekend to address the Group of 7 leaders, according to Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Ukraine is expected to launch a major counteroffensive soon, hoping to retake more territory seized by Russia in the war's early days. Any delivery of fighter jets would be months away, too late to affect that plan.

The Group of 7 leaders in Hiroshima spent much of the day discussing the coming counteroffensive and its chances of forcing Russia to the negotiating table to discuss some form of an armistice that would stop the fighting, even if it did not resolve the central issues of the war.

They are also poised to unveil a slew of new sanctions and export controls to clamp down further on the Kremlin's ability to fund the war, and to crack down on third-party nations that have been secretly providing Russia with banned technologies that can be used in weapons systems.

The allies appear determined to demonstrate unified resolve to support Ukraine at a time when President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia seems to be betting that their interest and commitment will wane.

Mr. Biden's changed stance on F-16s is his latest about-face on allowing Ukraine to field advanced weapons, including HIMARS rocket launchers, Patriot air defense missile systems and Abrams tanks. In each case, the president at first refused, only to change his mind under pressure from European allies.

Top Pentagon officials have consistently said that they do not believe Ukraine needs F-16s at this stage of the conflict.

Celeste A. Wallander, the assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, told the House Armed Services Committee last month that advanced Western fighter aircraft ranked only "about eighth" on Ukraine's priority list. She said officials have focused on resources with the "highest priority capabilities, and that has been air defense, artillery and armor."

But the push for F-16s by Ukraine and its supporters in Congress was reinforced this week when Yahoo News reported that an internal U.S. Air Force assessment concluded it would take only four months to train Ukrainian pilots to operate the fighters, a far shorter time frame than Pentagon officials had cited previously.

The document, which a senior Air Force official confirmed and said was shared with several NATO allies who fly F-16s, contained a detailed assessment undertaken in late February and early March at Morris Air National Guard Base in Tucson, Ariz. Two Ukrainian pilots were given "no formal training" on the F-16, according to the assessment, other than a brief familiarization, and then were tested on a flight simulator for several hours.

An appearance by Mr. Zelensky at the Group of 7 would be a strong rebuff to Mr. Putin and a reminder of how thoroughly relations with Russia have deteriorated. Thirty years ago, President Clinton met with Boris Yeltsin, then the president of Russia, in Japan to begin to map the integration of a post-Soviet Russia into the world economy, as Mr. Clinton promised to seek the repeal of Cold War sanctions. Five years later, Russia joined what became the Group of 8.

Exactly how Kyiv will be supplied with F-16s has not been decided.

Now all that has been reversed. After Russia annexed Crimea in 2014, it was suspended from the group, and left it entirely three years later. Russia's economy is struggling under sanctions imposed since the invasion last year, particularly the price cap on its oil sales, and more are coming.

Britain on Friday said it was implementing a ban on Russian diamonds, copper, aluminum and nickel. Australia also said on Friday it was imposing new financial sanctions targeting 21 entities and three individuals, including Russia's largest gold company, petroleum and steel companies and defense entities.

The United States also rolled out a "substantial package" of restrictions, including cutting off 70 more firms from American exports and adding more than 200 individuals and entities to its sanctions list. The measures are meant to crack down on people or companies that are helping Moscow to evade existing sanctions.

The fresh round of penalties "will further tighten the vise on Putin's ability to wage his barbaric invasion and will advance our global efforts to cut off Russian attempts to evade sanctions," Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen said in a statement on Friday.

The United States will broaden sanctions to cover more corners of the Russian economy, striking at its avenues to acquire semiconductors and other high-tech goods from Group of 7 nations, which American officials said Friday are critical to Russia's ability to build weapons. Antony J. Blinken, the secretary of state, said in a release that the new sanctions would take aim at components Russia needs to build a drone that is currently being deployed in Ukraine.

The new penalties also seek to squeeze Russia's ability to drill for oil and gas, and to crimp venture capitalists and financial services firms that American officials said were aiding sanctioned Russian businesses.

Goods that Western businesses are now prohibited from selling to Russian buyers often reach them through middlemen — changing hands, legal jurisdictions and free-trade zones multiple times. The trade is hard to track and harder to enforce, especially for "dual use" goods that have both civilian and military applications.

With many of Russia's other revenue streams squeezed by previous rounds of sanctions, officials have homed in on diamonds as a lucrative trade still providing Moscow with funding for its war. Russia is the world's largest supplier of small diamonds, exporting more than $4.5 billion in 2021, making the gem its top non-energy export by value.

KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden, center, with his Group of 7 counterparts in Hiroshima, Japan, on Friday. Mr. Biden had resisted allowing Ukraine to use U.S.-made F-16s over concerns of them being used to hit targets deep inside Russia, and prompt the Kremlin to escalate the war.

David E. Sanger and Jim Tankersley reported from Hiroshima, Japan, and Michael Crowley and Eric Schmitt from Washington.

A Vocal G.O.P. Minority Pledges It Will Complicate More Aid for Ukrainians

Republicans Play to Heart of Their Base

By ROBERT DRAPER

WASHINGTON — A congressional delegation of five Republicans and two Democrats met with representatives of Ukraine's Parliament this month in Poland, where the Ukrainians thanked the delegation for American aid and asked for F-16 fighter jets to help in the war against Russia. Three members of the delegation described the meeting as cordial and informative.

One left the session in a state of indignation.

"I just got back from meeting with the Ukrainian Parliament in Poland, where they demanded F-35s and thought it was an obligation for every American to pay $10 a month to fund their war," Representative Anna Paulina Luna, a conservative Republican freshman from Florida, wrote in a heated email to this reporter three days later. Ukrainians are not asking for the more advanced and expensive F-35s, but regardless, Ms. Luna said the United States' role in the conflict could "potentially start WWIII."

Ukraine ranked low on her constituents' concerns, she added, vowing to brief her colleagues about the encounter.

Ms. Luna is among the boisterous proponents in Congress of former President Donald J. Trump's "America first" worldview that regards financial commitments overseas with extreme skepticism. Like Mr. Trump, they maintain that every dollar spent on Ukraine — and there has been $113 billion for the war so far — is a dubious investment of taxpayer money that could have been better used on domestic priorities, like fighting the spread of fentanyl. Senior Republicans who support the war, and maintain the hawkish traditions of the establishment G.O.P., fear the movement will gain momentum as the conflict grinds on and Mr. Trump's candidacy consumes the 2024 spotlight.

For the moment, America's commitment to Ukraine seems resilient. President Biden announced an additional $1.2 billion in military aid last week. Ukraine funding has gone unmentioned in the $4.5 trillion in spending cuts House Republicans are demanding in exchange for raising the debt ceiling. A House resolution introduced in February by Representative Matt Gaetz, Republican of Florida, aimed at halting further aid to Ukraine attracted only Ms. Luna and nine other signatories among the chamber's 222 Republicans.

An amendment by Senator Josh Hawley, Republican of Missouri, to establish a special inspector general to oversee Ukraine-related expenditures drew 26 supporters among 49 Republican senators. And one week before Ms. Luna met with the Ukrainians, Speaker Kevin McCarthy, who previously declared that Ukraine would not receive a "blank check" from the United States, emphatically told a Russian reporter that "we will continue to support" Ukraine in the war effort.

But there is evidence to suggest that the anti-Ukraine flank of the Republican Party is playing not to the fringe but to the heart of the party's base. A survey last month of registered voters by Kristen Soltis Anderson's Echelon Insights found that 52 percent of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents do not think U.S. interests are at stake in Ukraine. Similarly, a survey in March conducted by Axios/Ipsos found that 57 percent of Republicans opposed providing weapons and financial support to Ukraine.

"It's insane that so few Republican members are willing to say what I'm willing to say," Senator J.D. Vance, Republican of Ohio and a vocal opponent of aid to Ukraine, said in a recent interview. "Clearly something is broken down about the democratic opinion-making process."

He added, "I'd love to hear McCarthy be more skeptical of aiding Ukraine, because I think that's where most of his voters are."

Mr. Vance said his opposition to aiding Ukraine came from enlisting at 18 as a Marine in the Iraq war. "I feel this deep sense of shame and regret for having gotten caught up in all of the social pressure to support the war and to think that it would have led to a good outcome," he said.

When Mr. Trump denounced the war as a presidential candidate in 2015, Mr. Vance recalled that "I wanted to stand up and cry, because I was so happy that somebody finally said it."

Mr. Gaetz, whose conservative district includes an Air Force base and a naval air station, said the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan had devastated his community. "I saw the impact up close," he said, "and I came to the view that this just isn't worth it."

Mr. Gaetz said that his party's dominant foreign policy ideology for the past three decades, neoconservatism, "has done our country harm."

Mr. Hawley echoed Mr. Gaetz and said that the legacy of neoconservatism, an interventionist foreign policy, continued to pervade Republicans' policymaking approach. "My party took a serious wrong turn in the 1990s," Mr. Hawley said. "And in D.C., you still see strong remnants of that thinking when it comes to Ukraine. But that's not where the voters are."

But some well-known Democratic antiwar voices reject the parallel between invading Afghanistan and Iraq and lending military assistance to Ukraine. Among them is Representative Barbara Lee, a California Democrat whom Mr. Gaetz now describes as a "folk hero" for casting the lone vote against authorizing President George W. Bush to use military force after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001. Ms. Lee, who received death threats after that vote, said that in Russia's aggression against Ukraine, "we see a dictatorship invading a democracy. And we need to be on the side of democracy. Whenever you see innocent people being killed by a war criminal, you want to do what you can to support them."

Ms. Lee declined to ascribe a motive for the dovishness in the G.O.P., but other Democrats did not.

"If you look at where the political energy is within the Republican Party right now, I'd say it's with what I call the Tucker Carlson/Viktor Orban/Donald Trump wing of the party," said Senator Chris Van Hollen, Democrat of Maryland and a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, referring to the bombastic former Fox News host and the autocratic prime minister of Hungary. "And among that group, there are some very influential voices, starting with Trump, who believe that the idea of 'America first' translates into America retreating from the rest of the world."

Mr. Gaetz insisted that he and the other opponents of Ukraine aid were not isolationists, citing their hard-line rhetoric against China as evidence. "I don't want my grandchildren speaking Mandarin," he said. At the same time, he added, "I think that it's preposterous to lash the future of the United States of America to the future of Ukraine. Quality of life doesn't fundamentally change for my constituents based on which guy in a track suit runs Crimea."

Other Democrats said the anti-Ukraine sentiments of Mr. Gaetz and other Republicans on the Hill were transparently attributable to the party's dominant voice. "I just think these guys are with Trump," said Representative Zoe Lofgren of California, a House manager in Mr. Trump's impeachment trial, which centered on his phone call strong-arming President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine over military aid.

"I think Trump has made clear that he supports Putin and other authoritarian leaders," Ms. Lofgren said, referring to a recent CNN town hall with Mr. Trump. "You saw how he refused to say he wants Ukraine to win the war."

Mr. Vance insisted that the Republican opposition to aiding Ukraine was not fueled by fealty to Mr. Trump. Still, he acknowledged that his party had left itself open to some cynical interpretations, saying, "We do lack a sort of coherent strategic view of what American foreign policy should be."

It was also true, Mr. Vance added, that "some of my more Ukraine-skeptical colleagues will say things like, 'They impeached Trump over a phone call.' There is a recognition, at least from my side, that domestic politics drives the way that we respond to this stuff."

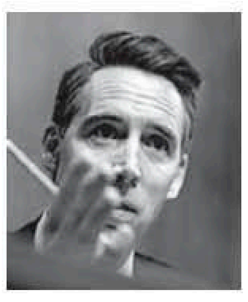
The political currents are already evident among some pro-Ukraine Republicans, if only by inference. Representative Michael McCaul, the Texas Republican who is the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, said in a statement to The New York Times that while members in his party "largely support" assisting Ukraine, "continued support goes hand in hand with increased oversight." (In an interview, Representative Michael R. Turner, Republican of Ohio and the chairman of the Intelligence Committee, seemed to suggest that such scrutiny of the Ukrainian funding was unwarranted, saying, "I can tell you we have full accounting of all the military aid to Ukraine.")

So far, defying the Republican base by supporting aid to Ukraine does not appear to be politically detrimental to the party's incumbents.

"Not at this time," said Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, Republican of Georgia, a vociferous foe of assisting Ukraine and a Trump loyalist. "But I'll be speaking at many of the Trump rallies, and you can bet that I'll be heavily messaging against the war in Ukraine and anyone who's funding it. And I guarantee you that's going to be moving the needle."

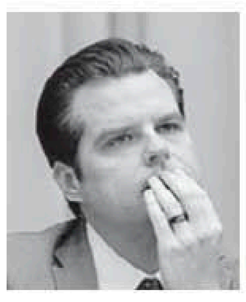
MAURICIO LIMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Discarded equipment from wounded and dead Ukrainian soldiers. America recently announced more military aid.



Senator Josh Hawley, Republican of Missouri, wanted more oversight of Ukrainian aid.

Representative Anna Paulina Luna of Florida scoffed at requests for F-35 fighter jets.



Representative Matt Gaetz, Republican of Florida, tried to halt further aid to Ukraine in February.

Other points of view on the Opinion pages seven days a week. The New York Times

To Counter China's Manufacturing Power, G7 Countries Borrow Its Playbook

By JIM TANKERSLEY and ANA SWANSON

HIROSHIMA, Japan — Midway through his face-to-face meeting with President Biden in Indonesia last fall, the Chinese leader, Xi Jinping, offered an unsolicited warning.

Mr. Biden had in the preceding months signed a series of laws aimed at supercharging America's industrial capacity and imposed new limits on the export of technology to China, in hopes of dominating the race for advanced energy technologies that could help fight climate change. For months, he and his aides had worked to recruit allied countries to impose their own restrictions on sending technology to China.

The effort echoed the sort of industrial policy that China had employed to become the world's manufacturing leader. In Bali, Mr. Xi urged Mr. Biden to abandon it.

The president was not persuaded. Mr. Xi's protests only further convinced Mr. Biden that America's new industrial approach was the right one, according to a person familiar with the exchange.

As Mr. Biden and fellow leaders of the Group of 7 nations meet this weekend in Hiroshima, Japan, a centerpiece of their discussions will be how to rapidly accelerate what has become an internationally coordinated round of vast public investment. For these wealthy democracies, the goal is both to reduce their reliance on Chinese manufacturing and to help their own companies compete in a new energy economy.

America's allies rev up an effort to spend trillions on a clean energy economy.

Mr. Biden's legislative agenda, including bills focused on semiconductors, infrastructure and low-emission energy sources, has begun to spur what could be trillions of dollars in government and private investment in American industrial capacity. That includes subsidies for electric vehicles, batteries, wind farms, solar plants and much more.

The spending — the United States' most significant intervention in industrial policy in decades — has galvanized many of America's top allies in Europe and Asia, including key leaders of the Group of 7. European nations, South Korea, Japan, Canada and others are pushing for increased access to America's clean energy subsidies, while launching companion efforts of their own.

"This clean-tech race is an opportunity to go faster and further, together," Ursula von der Leyen, the president of the European Commission, said after an economy-themed meeting at the Group of 7 summit on Friday.

"Now that the G7 are in this race together, our competition should create additional manufacturing capacity and not come at each other's expense," she said.

Mr. Biden and his Group of 7 counterparts have embarked on a project with two ambitious goals: to accelerate demand, even by decades, for the technologies needed to reduce emissions and fight climate change, and to give workers in the United States and in allied countries an advantage over Chinese workers in meeting that demand.

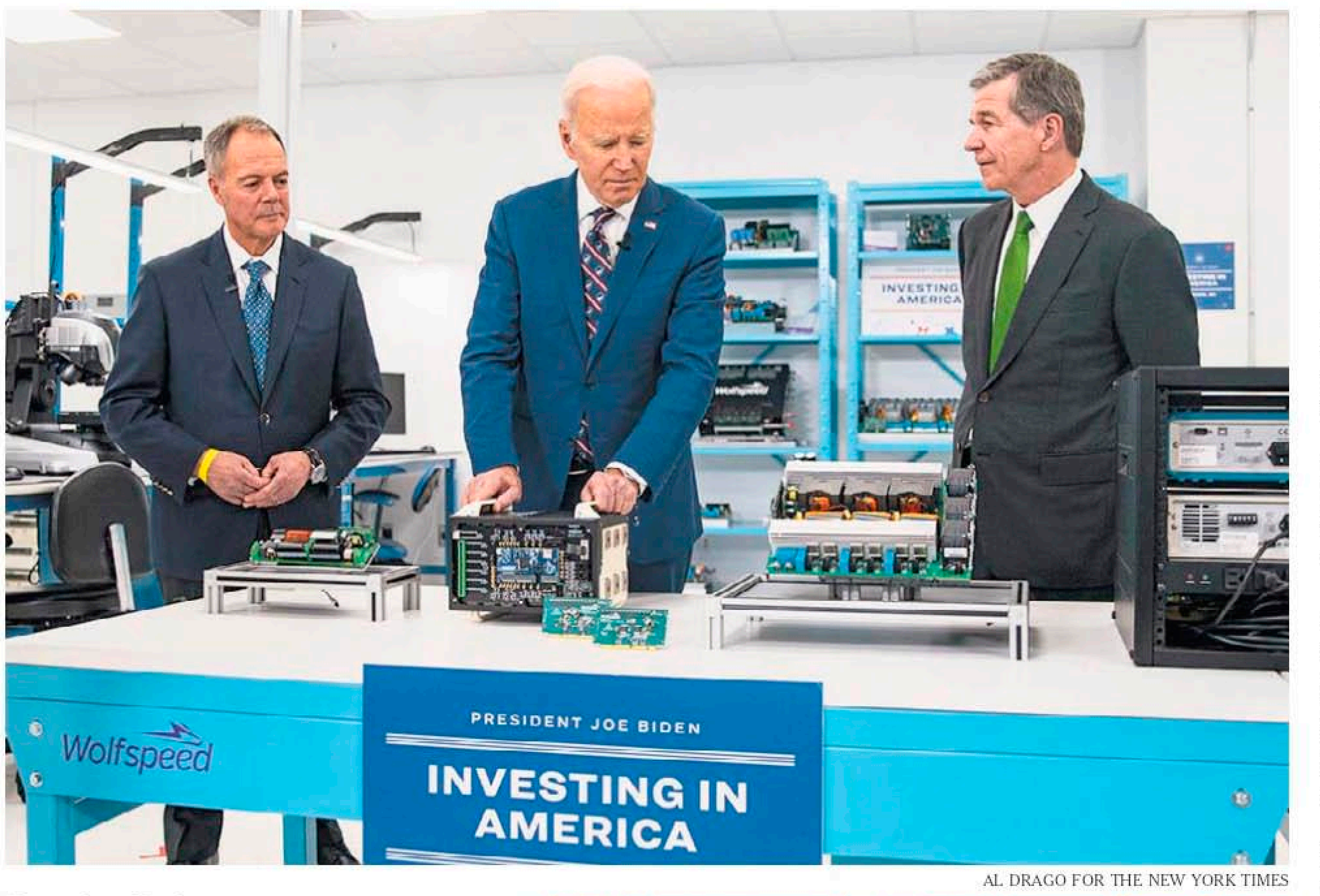
Much of that project has roared to life since the G7 leaders met last year in the German Alps. The wave of recent Group of 7 actions on supply chains, semiconductors and other measures to counter China is based on "economic security, national security and energy security," Rahm Emanuel, the U.S. ambassador to Japan, told reporters this week in Tokyo.

He added: "This is an inflection point for a new and more relevant G7."

Mr. Emanuel said the effort reflected a growing impatience among Group of 7 leaders with what they call Beijing's use of economic measures to punish and deter behavior by foreign governments and companies that China's officials do not like.

But more than anything, the shift has been fueled by urgency over climate action and by two laws Mr. Biden signed last summer: a bipartisan bill to shower the semiconductor industry with tens of billions of dollars in government subsidies, and the climate provisions of the so-called Inflation Reduction Act, which companies have jumped to cash in on.

Those bills have spurred a wave of newly announced battery plants, solar panel factories and other projects. They have also set off an international subsidy race, which has evolved after being deeply contentious in the immediate aftermath of the signing of the climate law.



AL DRAGO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

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President Biden touring a semiconductor manufacturer in Durham, N.C., in March; and in Bali, Indonesia, in November with Xi Jinping, the Chinese leader, who urged him to end new limits on the export of technology to China. Mr. Biden remained unswayed.

The lucrative U.S. supports for clean energy and semiconductors — along with stricter requirements for companies and government agencies to buy U.S.-made steel, vehicles and equipment — have put unwelcome pressure on competing industries in allied countries.

Some of those concerns have been quelled in recent months. The United States signed a deal with Japan in March that will allow battery materials made in Japan to qualify for the benefits of the Inflation Reduction Act. The European Union is pursuing a similar agreement, and has proposed its own $270 billion program to subsidize green industries. Canada has passed its own version of the Biden climate law, and Britain, Indonesia and other countries are angling for their own critical mineral deals.

Administration officials say once-rankled allies have bought into the potential benefits of a concerted wealthy-democracy industrial strategy.

At the Group of 7 meeting, "you will see a degree of convergence on this that, from our perspective, can continue the conversion of the Inflation Reduction Act from a source of friction into a source of cooperation and strength between the United States and our G7 partners," Jake Sullivan, the national security adviser, told reporters on Air Force One as Mr. Biden flew to Japan.

Some Group of 7 officials say the alliance has much more work to do to ensure that fast-growing economies like India benefit from the increased investments in a new energy economy. "It is important that the acceleration that is going to be created by this doesn't disincentivize investment around the world," Kirsten Hillman, the Canadian ambassador to the United States, said in an interview.

One country they don't want to see benefit is China. The United States has issued sweeping restrictions on China's ability to access American technology, namely advanced chips and the machinery used to make them. And it has leaned on its allies as it tries to enforce global restrictions on sharing technology with Russia, as well as China. All of those efforts are meant to hinder China's continued development in advanced manufacturing.

Biden officials have urged allied countries not to step in to supply China with chips and other products it can no longer get from the United States. The United States is also weighing further restrictions on certain kinds of Chinese chip technology, including a likely ban on venture capital investments that U.S. officials are expected to discuss with their counterparts in Hiroshima.

Although many of the Group of 7 governments agree that China poses an increasing economic and security threat, there is little consensus about what to do about it.

Japanese officials have been relatively eager to discuss coordinated responses to economic coercion from China, following Beijing's move to cut Japan off from a supply of rare earth minerals during a clash more than a decade ago.

European officials, by contrast, have been more divided on whether to risk close and lucrative business ties with China. Some, like the French president, Emmanuel Macron, have pushed back on U.S. plans to decouple supply chains with China.

Ms. von der Leyen, the European Commission president, has been pushing for a "de-risking" of relations with China that involves recognizing China's growing economic and security ambitions while reducing, in targeted ways, European dependence on China for its industrial and defense base. European officials said in Hiroshima that they had been pleased to see American leaders moving more toward their approach, at least rhetorically.

Still, the allies' industrial policy push threatens to complicate already difficult relations with China. Consulting and advisory firms with foreign ties have been subject to raids, detainments and arrests in China in recent months. Chinese officials have made clear that they see export controls as a threat. Adopting the phase American officials use to criticize Beijing, the Chinese Embassy in Washington warned the Group of 7 this week against what it called "economic coercion."

Mr. Xi issued a similar rebuke to Mr. Biden in Bali last fall. He pointed to the late 1950s, when the Soviet Union withdrew support for the Chinese nuclear program.

China's nuclear research continued, Mr. Xi said, and four years later, it detonated its first atomic bomb.

Jim Tankersley reported from Hiroshima, Japan, and Ana Swanson from Washington.

Sense. Modular sofas, armchair and ottomans, designed by Studio Roche Bobois.

French Art de Vivre rochebobois PARIS

Fleeing U.S. Diplomats Shredded Passports, Trapping Sudanese

From Page A1

visa applicants on security grounds.

The U.S. State Department confirmed it had destroyed passports but declined to say how many. "It is standard operating procedure during these types of situations to take precautions to not leave behind any documents, materials, or information that could fall into the wrong hands and be misused," said a spokeswoman who asked not to be named under State Department policy.

"Because the security environment did not allow us to safely return those passports," she added, "we followed our procedure to destroy them rather than leave them behind unsecured."

Ms. Ali, 39, had hoped to fly to Chicago this month to attend a training course, and from there to Vienna to start work with a U.N. organization. "My dream job," she said. Instead, she is confined with her parents to a house on the outskirts of the capital, praying the fighting will not reach them.

"I'm so frustrated," she said, her voice quivering. "The U.S. diplomats evacuated their own citizens but they didn't think of the Sudanese. We are human, too."

Alhaj Sharafeldin, 26, said he had been accepted for a master's in computer science at Iowa State University, and supposed to collect his passport and visa on April 16. A day earlier, the fighting broke out.

Five days ago the U.S. embassy notified him by email that his passport had been destroyed. "This is tough," he said, speaking from the house where he has sheltered since violence engulfed his own neighborhood. "The situation is so dangerous here."

The decision to destroy passports was gut-wrenching for American officials who realized it would hinder Sudanese citizens from fleeing, said several witnesses and officials familiar with the evacuation.

Particularly distressing was the fact that the passports of Sudanese staff members were also destroyed. Some had applied for United States government training courses; others had left their passports in the embassy for safekeeping.

"There was a lot of very upset people about this," said one U.S. official who, like several others, spoke on the basis of anonymity to discuss a sensitive episode. "We left behind a lot of people who were loyal to us, and we were not loyal to them."

But the officials were following the same protocol that led to the destruction of many Afghan passports during the hasty evacuation from the U.S. Embassy in Kabul, in August 2021, which was also a source of controversy.

Then, Afghans deprived of their passports could at least apply to the Taliban for a new one. But that option is impossible in Sudan because the country's main passport office is in a neighborhood experiencing some of the fiercest battles.

Given those circumstances, angry Sudanese question why evacuating U.S. officials could not have carried their passports with them. "Couldn't they have just put the passports in a bag?" Ms. Ali said.

A passport is a "precious and lifesaving piece of property," said Tom Malinowski, a former congressman from New Jersey who helped stranded Afghans in 2021. "It's a big deal to destroy something like that, and when we do we have an obligation to make that person whole."

In interviews, foreign diplomats said it was practically impossible to operate in Khartoum after the first shots were fired on April 15, when clashes between Sudan's military and the Rapid Support Forces, a powerful paramilitary group, quickly spiraled into a full-blown war.

Warplanes zoomed over the Khartoum district including most foreign embassies, dropping bombs. R.S.F. fighters rushed into the streets, firing back. Stray bombs and bullets hit embassies and residences, making it too dangerous to even reach an office, much less hand out passports, officials said.

Still, Sudanese critics said the embassies could have tried harder — especially as they poured so much effort into evacuating their own citizens. Military planes from Britain, France, Germany and Turkey flew out thousands of people from Khartoum. Armed U.S. drones watched over buses carrying Americans as they traveled to Port Sudan, a journey of 525 miles.

Sudanese visa applicants who asked for help at foreign embassies holding their passports say they were met with obfuscation, silence or unhelpful advice like being told to get a new passport.

"There are no authorities in Sudan now," said Mohamed Salah, whose passport is at the Indian Embassy. "Just war."

One country did, however, provide some relief. Two weeks into the war, the Chinese Embassy posted a phone number online for visa applicants to retrieve passports.

The American Embassy, a sprawling compound by the Nile in southern Khartoum, was miles from the most intense fighting. Even so, officials worried that it would get cut off from critical supplies. So they began destroying sensitive material five days before President Biden formally ordered an evacuation on April 21, in scenes that one witness compared to the beginning of the movie "Argo."

Classified and sensitive documents were fed into shredders that chomped them up and spat out tiny pieces. Officials wielding sledgehammers crushed electronics and an emergency passport machine. Burn pits glowed at the rear of the embassy.

The destruction grew more frenetic as the evacuation neared. Officials appealed over the embassy loudspeaker for help with shredding. Finally, a few hours before Chinooks landed in a field between the embassy and the Nile, throwing up clouds of blinding dust, U.S. Marines lowered the flag outside the embassy.

At the same time, other embassies were also in "full shred mode," as one diplomat put it. A European ambassador said he personally smashed his official seal.

It is not clear if embassies that didn't destroy passports made that choice or simply didn't have enough time.

No government has said how many Sudanese passports it destroyed or left in shuttered embassies.

Some people did manage to flee without passports. An official from France, which evacuated about 1,000 people from 41 countries, said people without papers were allowed to fly because officials knew that "their administrative situation would be resolved later."

That option was not available to most Sudanese.

Mahir Elfiel, a development worker marooned in Wadi Halfa, 20 miles from the border with Egypt, said the Spanish Embassy hadn't even responded to emails about his passport. "They just ignored me," he said. (Others made similar complaints.)

There was at least one solution: Local officials were helping stranded people cross the border by extending their old, expired passports with handwritten notes. But Mr. Elfiel's previous passport was stowed at his office back in Khartoum.

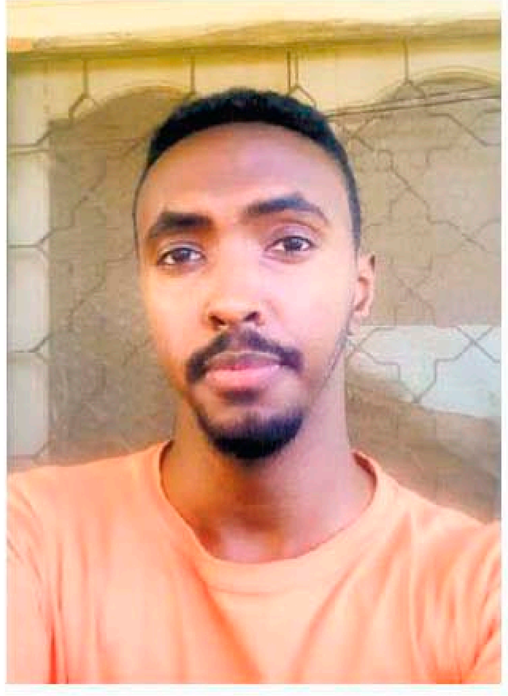
It presented a dilemma: return to the war zone and risk his life, or linger in Wadi Halfa until the fighting eases.

"I don't have any options, really," he said. "I'm just waiting."

Edward Wong contributed reporting.

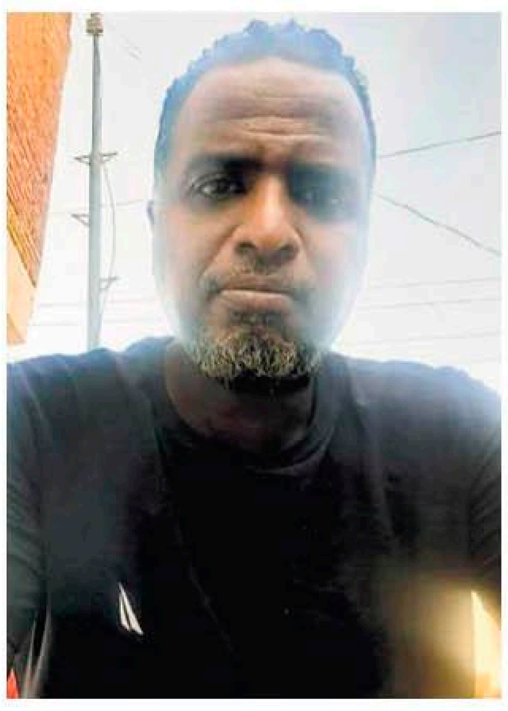
AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Sudanese soldiers guarding a checkpoint in Khartoum. Violent clashes have spiraled out of control.



'The situation is so dangerous here.'

ALHAJ SHARAFELDIN, who was supposed to collect his passport and visa in April.



'There are no authorities in Sudan now. Just war.'

MOHAMED SALAH, whose passport is at the Indian Embassy.

'I don't have any options, really. I'm just waiting.'

MAHIR ELFIEL, a development worker stuck in Wadi Halfa.

He Won Thailand's Votes. But Will He Get to Lead?

By SUI-LEE WEE

BANGKOK — When Pita Limjaroenrat was a student at Harvard in 2008, he shadowed his American classmates who were campaigning at the time for former President Barack Obama. The experience gave him a window into electoral politics, from phone banks and polling data to knocking on doors and putting campaign flags on front lawns.

Fifteen years later, Mr. Pita said he used what he learned in Massachusetts to help his recent campaign in Thailand, where he stunned the country's political establishment by leading his progressive Move Forward Party to a momentous victory.

For decades, Thai voters had known only two dominant political forces: one led by conservative royalists and militarists and the other by a populist billionaire living in exile. Supporters saw Mr. Pita, 42, as the candidate who represented change and a return to democracy after nine years of military rule that was preceded by a coup. On the stump, he promised to undo the military's grip on Thai politics and revise a law that criminalizes criticism of the monarchy.

But his path to prime minister remains uncertain.

"What I need to do now is to find a road map that bridges that gap between a functioning democracy and half-baked democracy at the very end of nine-year rule by a military coup," he said in an interview with The New York Times.

In order to take the role, Mr. Pita needs to gather enough support in the 500-member House of Representatives to overcome a 250-member, military-appointed Senate. To be precise, he needs 376 votes. So far, he only has 314.

Several senators have said they would not support a candidate who so threatens the status quo. Now, Thais are waiting to see if their choice will be allowed to lead or if he will be blocked from becoming prime minister, an outcome that could plunge the country into political chaos.

Thai generals rewrote the Constitution in 2017 so a Senate stacked with military allies could jointly determine the top leader. Conservatives are counting on an Election Commission complaint that has been filed against Mr. Pita for failing to disclose that he owned shares of a now-defunct media company that he inherited from his father.

So far, Mr. Pita has brushed off the inquiry, saying he had already reported the shares to the authorities. He also said he believed there was a group of senators who had "felt their conscience" and understood the consequences of going against the 25 million Thais who voted for change. Only 14 senators have indicated that they would vote for him.

Mr. Pita graduated with a joint degree from the Harvard Kennedy School and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology' Sloan School of Management. From his time in the United States, he learned how to map out a campaign strategy, which he put to use in this election by using data to reach voters in 160 districts.

Most of Mr. Pita's career was in consulting and business, as a managing director of the rice-bran oil business that his father started, and then as a senior executive for Grab, the ride-hailing company that acquired Uber in Southeast Asia.

As a candidate, Mr. Pita developed a reputation for being a clear orator, attracting voters with his speeches and polished looks.

He said he admires José Alberto "Pepe" Mujica Cordano, the former president of Uruguay, who was tortured and imprisoned during the country's military dictatorship. He is reading "It's OK to Be Angry About Capitalism" by Senator Bernie Sanders. Some of his favorite bands are Metallica, The Strokes, and Rage Against the Machine. One viral video on TikTok shows a Thai woman holding a mock marriage ceremony with a cutout of Mr. Pita, who is divorced and has a young daughter.

"For a lot of the middle class, especially upper-middle class Thais, he's like the ideal son-in law that you'd like to have — very educated, accomplished, good-looking, poised," said Duncan McCargo, a political science professor at the University of Copenhagen.

Mr. Pita was drawn to the ideas of the founder of the Future Forward party, Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, in 2018, and within a few months was asked to join. He became the leader of Move Forward after Thailand's Constitutional Court dissolved Future Forward in 2020 and barred its senior executives from politics for 10 years.

If his bid for prime minister is successful, Mr. Pita has promised to reset Thailand's foreign policy, saying the country would "not be part of the Chinese umbrella or the American umbrella," but will have the ability to determine its own destiny, Mr. Pita said.

Mr. Pita's reputation has not gone unscathed. His ex-wife, Chutima Teepanart, an actress with whom he shares a daughter, accused him of domestic violence in 2019. A family court found Mr. Pita not guilty of the charge. Ms. Chutima did not respond to multiple requests for comment.

In an interview, Mr. Pita said "there was no domestic violence, whether it's physical abuse or emotional abuse, ever in my family."

Mr. Pita was born to a wealthy, well-connected family. His deceased father served as an adviser to the agriculture minister, and his uncle was once a close aide to Thaksin Shinawatra, the populist billionaire whose youngest daughter was one of Mr. Pita's rivals in the election.

His uncle was a former commerce minister in the early 1980s but was later jailed for misconduct when he was a banker, a case that Mr. Pita described as politically motivated. A salient childhood memory includes visiting his uncle in prison, which made him see "how dirty or how brutal politics could be," he said.

Over the years, Mr. Pita said he was struck by how Thailand seemed constantly trapped in a cycle of political turmoil, precipitated either by people "using the king to destroy a political opponent or using the monarchy as an excuse to fight for something."

He started studying other countries with constitutional monarchies including England, Japan and Norway, and said he began to see why the relationship between the Thai monarchy and the people was "going downhill" with each passing decade.

With Move Forward, he wants "to have a comprehensive discussion in Parliament about what the role of the monarchy in a constitutional democracy should be in modern Thailand," an idea that was once considered taboo among many Thais for whom the royal family has become a fixture in daily life.

In a response to calls for checks on the monarchy's power — precipitated by protests in 2020 — the military and royalists have come together to defend the institution.

In the aftermath of the protests, Prime Minister Prayuth Chan-ocha, the general who led the previous coup and whose party was trounced in the election, ordered a crackdown. More than 200 protesters, including 17 minors, have since been detained for criticizing the monarchy.

Standing in front of a giant portrait of the king in the center of Bangkok, he addressed the crowd, telling them "a new day for the people has arrived."

Ryn Jirenuwat and Muktita Suhartono contributed reporting.

LAUREN DECICCA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Pita Limjaroenrat shocked political pundits with his election victory in Thailand last weekend. Now he needs 376 votes in the 500-member House of Representatives to become prime minister.

Fallen Leader From Britain Visits Taiwan, Roiling China

By CHRIS BUCKLEY

TAIPEI, Taiwan — On a 1 trip to Taiwan, Liz Truss, Britain's prime minister for 44 tempestuous days, met President Tsai Ing-wen on Friday and called for an "economic NATO" to counter Chinese coercion.

Ms. Truss's visit has been denounced by Beijing, which claims the self-governed island as its territory. China opposes visits to Taiwan by foreign politicians, even fallen ones like Ms. Truss, who resigned last year after the shortest tenure of any British prime minister. And even some members of Ms. Truss's own Conservative Party suggested her trip was unnecessarily provocative — "the worst kind of Instagram diplomacy," said one.

Taiwan's government has nonetheless treated Ms. Truss's five-day visit as a small but welcome gesture of support in the face of Beijing's tightening political isolation of the island democracy. Taiwan now has only 13 formal diplomatic partners — most states have shifted recognition to Beijing — and Taiwan has increasingly reached out to foreign lawmakers, think tanks and organizations to promote its global standing.

"Taiwan and the United Kingdom are like-minded partners," Ms. Tsai told Ms. Truss when they met at Taiwan's presidential office. "Together we are working to advance freedom and democracy around the world."

As she had earlier on her trip, Ms. Truss said in her meeting with Ms. Tsai that countries should band together and form an "economic NATO": a bloc united against coercion by China and other authoritarian governments. China has often resorted to economic retaliation in diplomatic disputes with other countries, imposing punishing tariffs and informal embargoes on Australia, Norway, South Korea and other countries. (Beijing also faces trade and technology restrictions imposed by the United States and its allies.)

"What has been achieved here in Taiwan must be protected, and the international community and international free democracies must support you in your endeavors," Ms. Truss told Ms. Tsai.

The Chinese Embassy in Britain, in a statement on Wednesday called Ms. Truss's visit "a dangerous political show."

Last year, China launched large-scale military exercises near Taiwan after Nancy Pelosi, then the speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, visited Taipei. But Britain is far less consequential than the United States in supporting Taiwan.

China's leader, Xi Jinping, has also been focused this year on improving relations with European countries, including Britain, as he tries to thwart the Biden administration's efforts to build an international coalition against Beijing.

The last former British prime minister to visit Taiwan was Ms. Truss's political idol, Margaret Thatcher, in 1992. Taiwan was willing to look past contention in Britain over Ms. Truss, said Chen Fang-yu, an assistant politics professor at Soochow University in Taipei.

"Taiwan really needs more of this kind of attention from every country, because only if more people visit Taiwan and more speak up for Taiwan, will the Chinese Communist Party realize that many people are paying attention to Taiwan, and so they should not act rashly," he said in an interview.

Ms. Truss's trip has also come as Taiwan is preparing to hold a presidential election in January, when voters will choose a successor for Ms. Tsai, who must step down.

On Thursday, Ms. Truss met Lai Ching-te, the vice president of Taiwan, who is the presidential candidate of Ms. Tsai's Democratic Progressive Party. That party favors asserting Taiwan's separateness from China, and its formal platform calls for establishing Taiwan "as a sovereign, independent and autonomous nation," a goal that is anathema to Beijing. Mr. Lai used his meeting with Ms. Truss on Thursday to amplify that message of standing tall against Chinese pressure.

But Alexander C. Huang, a professor at Tamkang University in Taipei who advises Taiwan's opposition Nationalist Party, said that the Nationalists would also welcome visitors like Ms. Truss. The Nationalists maintain that they can create more stable relations with China, while keeping Taiwan close to the United States and its allies.

"Taiwan has no influence over the domestic issues of a friendly country," Mr. Huang said, referring to Britain. "We just want to have more international attention and visibility."

John Liu contributed reporting from Seoul.

Inundated by Downpours, Northern Italy Faces Landslides and Power Outages

By ELISABETTA POVOLEDO and GAIA PIANIGIANI

ROME — Eleven years ago this month, back-to-back earthquakes struck the northern Italian region of Emilia-Romagna, which this week was devastated by another disaster: Widespread flooding that has caused at least 14 deaths and left thousands more homeless.

On Friday, rescue workers continued to clear streets of mud, while towns in the Ravenna area remained submerged. Hundreds of roads were blocked by landslides making travel in the region difficult — with some towns cut off completely — and power was still out in some places.

Officials said the full extent of the damage was still not clear in the region, which had recently been plagued by drought and where few have forgotten the devastating 2012 earthquake.

"We couldn't have imagined that we would commemorate the 11th anniversary of the earthquake — moreover with the satisfaction of having rebuilt practically everything or almost everything — with a new earthquake to deal with, because that's what it is," Stefano Bonaccini, the president of the Emilia-Romagna region, said in reference to the flooding at a news conference Friday.

ANDREAS SOLARO/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Trash from flooded homes in Faenza, Italy. Rains in the Emilia-Romagna region have left over a dozen dead and thousands homeless.

But he added the 2012 earthquake had taught an important lesson: "While dealing with the emergency, it is important to plan ahead and think of reconstruction," he said, adding: "We must keep marching on and go back to producing and creating jobs, to give people a chance."

While the Emilia-Romagna region might be less known to foreigners than neighboring Tuscany, many will be familiar with some of its food products, like Parmesan cheese, from Parma and Reggio Emilia; balsamic vinegar from Modena; and cured Parma ham. Coastal towns like Rimini and Riccione are popular beach resorts.

But most of the region's businesses shut their doors this week. Even if spared the rains, hundreds of roads and bridges, essential for transporting goods, were out of commission.

"We're waiting for the waters to subside before we can assess the damage," said Annalisa Sassi, the president of the region's industrial association. "What I can say, knowing this territory, is that it is very hard-working. So I can imagine we will find the rich spirit that emerged after the earthquake. These are people who don't give up."

Experts described the rainfall this week as exceptional. Some areas received nearly 20 inches in 36 hours, about half the annual average. Heavy rains in early May had already saturated the soil, and on Tuesday, a storm system moving slowly across Italy funneled extreme downpours back over the same area.

Nearly two dozen rivers broke their banks in a vast area between the Apennine Mountains — where hilltop villages have been left isolated by landslides — and the Adriatic coast.

"Many mayors are tired," Irene Priolo, vice president of the region, said at a news conference Friday, describing the rescue efforts that have involved hundreds of emergency workers. Fabrizio Curcio, head of the national civil protection agency, said the vastness of the territory affected by flooding and landslides "complicated the situation."

Rainfall this weekend is not expected to rival the levels seen in the past several days, but many areas remain vulnerable.

"These relatively short and small rivers that flow between the mountains and the sea had been dry for a year and a half," said Marina Baldi, a climatologist with the Italian National Research Council. "They could not take so much water."

This part of Emilia-Romagna is particularly vulnerable. Its fertile flatlands, once marshes just above the sea level, have always been exposed to flooding. The Apennines are susceptible to landslides because of the fragile rocks they are made of, and the slopes' grades make them unstable in case of heavy rains.

Ms. Baldi said that such intense rains usually hit Italy only once every 100 to 150 years, mostly in the fall or winter, not in May. "It was an absolutely anomalous phenomenon," she said, referring to the recent deluges.

Ms. Sassi, of the industrialists association, said that "new approaches" had to be adopted when it came to mapping out future plans and that those approaches needed to take into consideration abnormal weather patterns. "For us it's a priority issue, one we've been talking about for the past few years."

The Italian government is expected to declare a state of emergency in the region next week, but it has already allocated 30 million euros, about $32 million, to help with the response. Government ministers also raised the possibility of asking the European Union for help.

Stefano Francia, regional president of the farmers' association C.I.A., said that calculating the damage to agriculture would be possible only after water had receded from the fields, and vineyards on the hillsides had been shored up.

"But there is a great desire to start up again," he said. "It's the spirit of Emilia-Romagna to not give up."

The flooding prompted Formula 1 to cancel the grand prix in the area this weekend, saying the deadly flooding had made it unsafe to proceed with the race at Imola, which is in Emilia-Romagna. Ferrari, which has its headquarters in the region, donated €1 million to the regional civil protection agency.

The decision to continue with a concert by Bruce Springsteen was met with some criticism on social media, even though it took place in Ferrara, far from the flooded areas. "Maybe it could have been postponed," Mr. Bonaccini, president of the Emilia-Romagna region, told Italian television.

The hoteliers association in the beach town of Riccione, hit by the storm this week, announced Friday that hotels would be open and ready to welcome vacationers next week.

"Our seaside will be ready as always to welcome tourists, and we must send a clear message," Mr. Bonaccini said Friday. "Nothing will stop, people can and must come to give a hand to our economy."

Elisabetta Povoledo reported from Rome, and Gaia Pianigiani from Siena, Italy. Judson Jones contributed reporting from Atlanta.

ISRAEL DISPATCH

Plump Visitor Brings a Chill Vibe at a Tense Time

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

JAFFA, Israel — Yulia the endangered seal did not seem fazed by the rockets from Gaza, let alone the missiles heading in the opposite direction.

About six feet long and two decades old, Yulia heaved herself last Friday onto a sandy beach in Jaffa, an ancient city immediately south of Tel Aviv. It was the fourth of five days of fighting between the Israeli military and Palestinian militants in Gaza.

She promptly fell fast asleep.

Yulia was the definition of an incongruous sight. Two days earlier, air-raid sirens on the same shoreline had sent swimmers and sunbathers rushing to municipal bomb shelters. Now, an endangered Mediterranean monk seal — one of an estimated 700 in the world — had landed on an Israeli shore for the first known time since 2010.

"A miracle," said Ruthy Yahel, a marine ecologist at Israel's Nature and Parks Authority who helped watch over Yulia this week. "She knows no limits, no borders, no wars between the countries."

Yulia stayed on the beach for days, sleeping obliviously through the announcement of a cease-fire. She did not react when crowds began to gather over the weekend to watch her as she snoozed. She appeared unbothered when a local boy christened her Yulia, and the name began to make headlines across the Israeli news media.

She focused instead on molting, her fur gradually changing hue from brown to gray. Occasionally, she rolled around on the sand. But mainly, she slumbered.

As her fame spread, Israel's nature authority cordoned off the beach to prevent onlookers from disturbing her. Kan, the national broadcaster, trained a camera on her sleeping spot, providing a livestream online. She inspired memes on social media, with users joking that she might defeat the embattled prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, in an election.

In the span of a weekend, Israel's national conversation turned in part from war to seals — providing one of the frequent instances of emotional whiplash that define daily life in Israel, where a decades-old conflict with the Palestinians, coupled with widening internal rifts, make for a turbulent existence. Domestic turmoil one week, deadly conflict the next — followed closely by the appearance of rare marine fauna.

"We're all looking for a bit of sanity given all the craziness that's been going on," said Avi Blyer, 47, an animator who came to see the seal on Wednesday morning.

AMIR COHEN/REUTERS

ABIR SULTAN/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

A Mediterranean monk seal arrived in Jaffa amid fighting between Israel's military and militants in Gaza. She lolled on the beach, drawing crowds.

"She's an ambassador of sanity," Mr. Blyer added. "She represents something else."

For conservation experts, Yulia's arrival is also a small victory after a decades-long effort to revive a near-extinct species.

In the late 1800s, the Mediterranean monk seal population was in the thousands, experts say, but it dwindled to the low hundreds during the 20th century after hunters killed too many and human activity damaged the seals' habitats. Over the past two decades, conservation teams, mainly in Greece and Turkey, have expanded coastal nature reserves, helping to boost seal numbers.

"It's something we really need to celebrate," Ms. Yahel, the marine ecologist, said.

Like many travelers, Yulia stopped in Turkey before heading to Israel.

After Mia Elasar, an Israeli seal expert, sent photos of Yulia to colleagues in Turkey, the Turks spotted a familiar and distinctive mark on her back — a scar they compare to a "tughra," or the elaborate calligraphic signature of an Ottoman caliph.

The Turkish team realized the seal was one they had been tracking since the mid-2000s and that they have regularly spotted in caves near Mersin in southern Turkey — most recently in March. The seal was so familiar to Turkish marine experts that she has for years been known to them as Tugra (pronounced TUR-rah) — after the Turkish spelling of the calligraphic signature.

It's a mystery why the seal swam more than 320 miles to Jaffa, but one theory is that the growing seal population has created more competition for food, pushing her further afield.

Yulia appears bolder than most of her species, the Turkish experts said — generally less frightened by human contact, and more prepared to swim long distances. In 2019, she was spotted in Lebanon.

"She's a really particularly easygoing seal," said Meltem Ok, a Turkish marine scientist who said she has been following Tugra/Yulia, since 2005. "She doesn't really care about human presence."

At one point last week, Yulia seemed so unbothered that Ms. Elasar, the Israeli seal expert, worried she might be dead. To check she was still breathing, Ms. Elasar crept slowly up to her in the darkness, watching carefully for signs of life. Suddenly, the seal's nose twitched, and she opened a single eye.

"It was the only time one of us really got close to her," said Ms. Elasar, a researcher at the Delphis Association, an Israeli nonprofit organization that works to protect marine mammals.

For Israelis, news of the seal has provided a brief balm from a sequence of rolling crises — from a deep social rift over the government's proposed changes to the judiciary, to last week's war, and an insurgency in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. On a local level, it has briefly distracted from ethnic tensions in Jaffa, once a mainly Arab city where the remaining Arab residents often feel priced out by growing gentrification.

News about Yulia's movements has dominated neighborhood social media groups for the past few days, said Deborah Danan, a Jaffa resident who runs one of those groups.

"It's nice to be able to talk about where the seal is on the beach — rather than where the nearest bomb shelter is, or whether there's a protest," Ms. Danan said.

But on Wednesday, visitors were met with a disappointingly empty beach. Yulia had vanished into the sea, and it wasn't clear whether she would return.

On Thursday, Yulia did make a couple aborted attempts to land on a more northerly beach, but each time seemed put off by the presence of dogs.

"I hope for this country that she comes back," Ms. Danan said. "This country needs distraction."

Myra Noveck and Hiba Yazbek contributed reporting from Jerusalem.

Wildfires Scorch Alberta, Creating Panic in Canada

By DAN BILEFSKY

EDMONTON, Alberta — As acrid smoke filled the air, turning the sky around her sleepy hometown, Fox Creek, Alberta, a garish blood orange, Nicole Clarke said she felt a sense of terror.

With no time to collect family photographs, she grabbed her two young children, hopped into her pickup truck, and sped away, praying she wouldn't drive into the blaze's menacing path.

"This feels like a Canadian Armageddon, like a bad horror film," said Ms. Clarke, a 37-year-old hair stylist, standing outside her pickup truck, a large hamper of dirty laundry piled in the trunk.

In a country revered for placid landscapes and predictability, weeks of out-of-control wildfires raging across western Canada have ushered in a potent sense of fear, threatening a region that is the epicenter of the country's oil and gas sector.

Climate research suggests that heat and drought associated with global warming are major reasons for the increase in bigger and stronger fires.

Amid frequent fire updates dominating national television news broadcasts, the blazes have also helped unite a vast and sometimes polarized nation, with volunteers, firefighters and army reservists from other provinces rushing in to lend a hand.

Roughly 29,000 people in Alberta have been forced from their homes by the recent bout of wildfires, though that number has been cut in half in recent days as fires subsided.

Ms. Clarke said her family had been staying in cheap motels since they were ordered about a week ago to evacuate their home. But she and her boyfriend were unemployed and money was quickly running out.

"I don't know if I'll have a home to return to," she added on Thursday, sobbing.

The fires have produced such thick smoke that during recess, children in some towns have remained in their classrooms rather than risk smoke inhalation outside. Dozens of residents left in such a frantic panic that they left pets behind.

On Highway 43, a long stretch of Alberta highway peppered by small, evacuated towns, the thick layer of smoke blanketing the road on Thursday conjured the feeling of a dystopia.

With helicopters hovering overhead dropping water, police cars with flashing lights blocked parts of the highway as fires approached the road. Residents trying to return to homes they hoped were still intact commiserated as they were forced to turn back.

Fires have broken out throughout western Canada, including British Columbia, but hardest hit has been neighboring Alberta, a proud oil and gas producing province sometimes referred to as "the Texas of the North," which has declared a state of emergency. More than 94 active wildfires were burning as of Friday afternoon.

British Columbia was the site in 2021 of one of Canada's worst wildfires in recent decades, when fires decimated the tiny community of Lytton after temperatures there reached a record 49.6 degrees Celsius, or 121.3 Fahrenheit.

Not since the worst of the Covid-19 pandemic buffeted the region has the area been so overcome by apprehension, accompanied by the all-too familiar need to wear masks outside. Only this time, residents say, a silent killer has been replaced by something more visceral and visible.

So far, no deaths have been reported. But in Alberta, Frankie Payou, a firefighter and 33-year-old father of three from the East Prairie Métis Settlement in Northern Alberta, was in a coma with severe injuries after being hit in the head by a burned tree. His home was also destroyed by a fire.

The bulk of the fires are in the far north of the province, home to many Indigenous communities, dealing a heavy blow to people who depend on the land and natural resources.

At a sprawling evacuation center in Edmonton, Ken Zenner, 61, a father of eight, two of whom are members of the Sturgeon Lake Cree Nation, said he and his family had been evacuated from the town of Valleyview. He worried how they would get by.

Families that have been displaced for a cumulative seven days are eligible for government-provided financial support, according to provincial regulations. But Mr. Zenner said he didn't qualify because he had only been evacuated for six days.

"Indigenous communities have been underfunded for years and now we are seeing the consequences," he said.

The rest of the country is mobilizing to help. Some 2,500 firefighters are battling the fires, among them 1,000 from other provinces. Joining them are wilderness firefighters from the United States.

The fires have even affected Alberta's largest city, Calgary, where residents this week said they sat down for breakfast only to see and smell pungent smoke entering from cracks under their front doors.

Environment and Climate Change Canada said the air quality index for the city on Wednesday afternoon was at 10+, or "very high risk." Canadian health authorities have warned the smoke could cause symptoms ranging from sore and watery eyes to coughing, dizziness, chest pains and heart palpitations.

Vjosa Isai contributed reporting from Toronto.

HEADWAY

A Leader's Quest For a New Capital As Jakarta Sinks

By HANNAH BEECH
Photographs by ULET IFANSASTI

Before he led the world's fourth most populous country, the president of Indonesia was consumed by an even more challenging mission: saving Jakarta.

For two years, Joko Widodo served as the governor of a capital city that seemed to teeter on the brink of ruin. Since Indonesia's independence in 1945, Jakarta had expanded from less than a million people to roughly 30 million. It had grown tall with skyscrapers built with fortunes made from timber, palm oil, natural gas, gold, copper, tin. But the capital had run out of space. It grew thick with traffic and pollution. Most of all, Jakarta was sinking, as thirsty residents drained its marshy aquifers and rising sea waters lapped its shores. Forty percent of the Indonesian capital now lies below sea level.

Raised in a riverside slum in a smaller city, without family ties or a military background to propel him to power, Mr. Joko derived his political strength from his connection with ordinary Indonesians. In Jakarta, he made a habit of canvassing poor neighborhoods about their needs. Residents were unaccustomed to such consideration, but they didn't hold back: They wanted to live without worrying about the air they breathed and the water that all too often flooded their homes. And traffic. There were many complaints about traffic.

So Mr. Joko rolled up his sleeves, put on his sneakers and set about trying to fix the city. He raised sea walls and improved public transport. He later talked up the construction of a constellation of artificial islands to break the waters hitting Jakarta. His entire career — first as a carpenter and a furniture exporter and then as mayor of his hometown, Solo — had been built on building.

In Jakarta, however, his passion for construction could only get him so far. All the Sisyphean dredging, the endless concrete inches slathered on sea walls, the duct tape solutions could not raise Jakarta above the sea's reach. And so Mr. Joko has turned to a different solution: If Jakarta cannot be saved, he will start over.

Mr. Joko is using his presidential authority to forsake the capital on the slender island of Java and construct a new one on Borneo, the world's third-largest island, about 800 miles away. The new capital is to be called Nusantara, meaning "archipelago" in ancient Javanese and befitting an unlikely nation of more than 17,000 islands scattered between two oceans.

Indonesia encompasses hundreds of languages and ethnic groups. Some of its regions are governed by Shariah-inspired rules, gripped by separatist fervor or animated by Indigenous traditions. It is also a secular democracy with the world's largest Muslim citizenry, a sizable Christian minority and several other official faiths. Although deadly sectarian conflict has flared over the decades, Indonesia has cohered while other countries have come apart. A new capital city for a place with such disparities and diversity presents both a challenge and a chance for reinvention.

Mr. Joko's ambitions go far beyond saving Jakarta's residents from the sea. Nusantara won't be just any planned city, the president asserts, but a green metropolis run on renewable energy, where there are no choking traffic jams and people can stroll and bike along verdant paths. The new capital, which is known in Indonesia by its abbreviation, I.K.N., will be a paradigm for adapting to a warming planet. And it will be a high-tech city, he says, attracting digital nomads and millennials who will purchase stylish apartments with cryptocurrency.

"We want to build a new Indonesia," Mr. Joko said. "This is not physically moving the buildings. We want a new work ethic, new mind-set, new green economy."

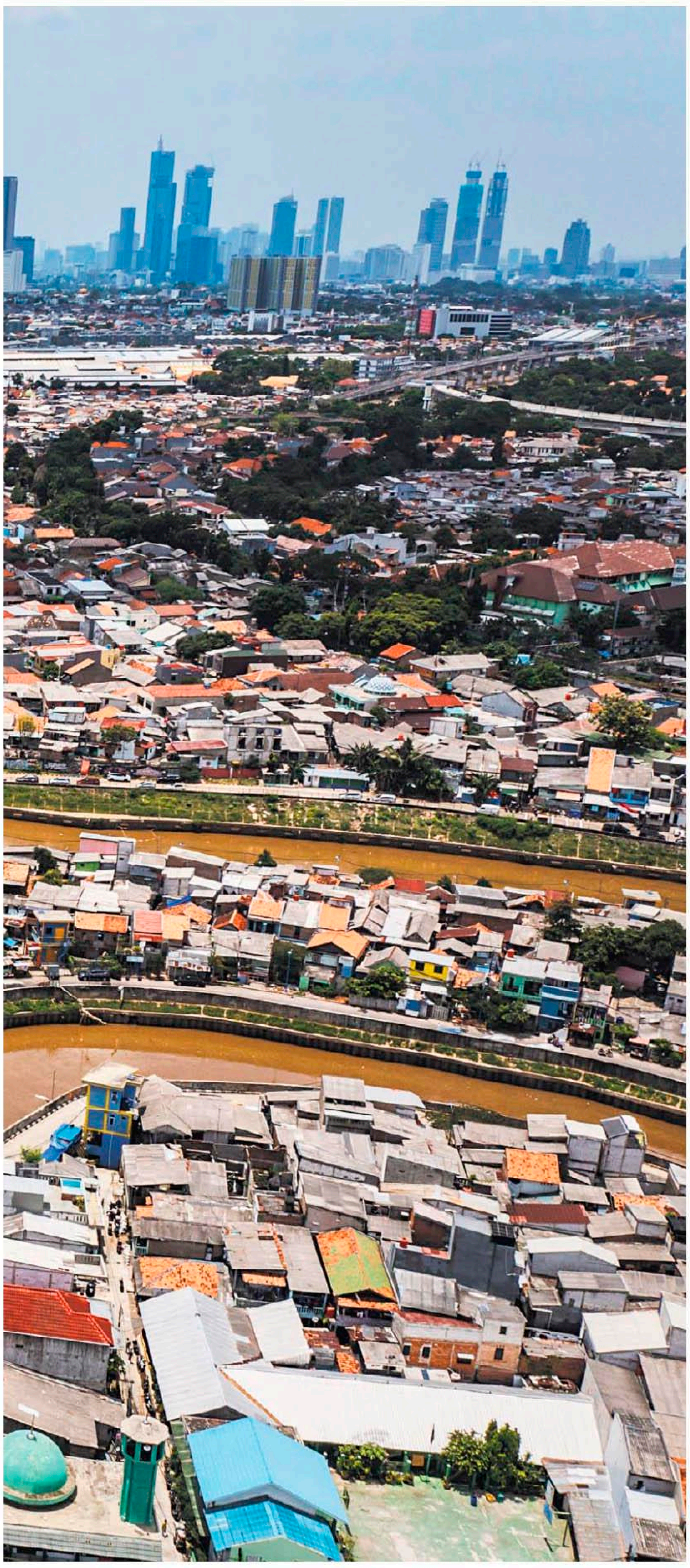
The hope is to inaugurate Jakarta's replacement in August of next year, with the unveiling of the presidential palace and other key government buildings. But while bulldozers are clearing acres of plantation forestland, not a single showcase structure has been completed.

Mr. Joko's audacious plan will not be easy to pull off. Graft threatens the best of intentions in Indonesia. Political rivals have questioned the plan's wisdom. Moreover, a new capital on Borneo will not change the fact that millions of people will still be left in a sinking Jakarta. Most have no wish to relocate to a faraway island, and some Borneo residents aren't happy about the capital coming to them.

The president's own quixotic decision-making has complicated construction. And the entire project is being rushed as Mr. Joko's presidential term comes to a close. He has only a short time to give life, in steel and glass, to his supreme ambition: to be the leader who finally succeeded at building a new citadel for Indonesia.

The complexities facing Mr. Joko are supercharged versions of those facing other leaders of developing countries. In the colonial era, places like Jakarta, then known as Batavia, were treated as little more than way stations for natural resources dispatched back to the seats of empire. Colonial complexes sprinkled with jacaranda and bougainvillea were surrounded by shantytowns. After the birth of independent nations, urban planners had to create modern cities from these imperial bones. By the U.N.'s accounting, there are 33 megacities in the world today, each with more than 10 million people. In 1950, there was one: New York. And now these metropolises must contend with the twin perils of rapid population growth and climate change.

Commuters waiting for a train during the morning rush. Most residents of Jakarta have no wish to relocate to a faraway island.



From left: A densely populated area in Jakarta, Indonesia; the seawall in a neighborhood in North Jakarta; and, Joko Widodo, the president of Indonesia, giving out souvenirs at a market in Balikpapan in Borneo in 2022.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Renderings of Nusantara suggest a green metropolis, one that shifts power some 800 miles from Jakarta on Java to the less-populated island of Borneo.

One response to these myriad problems is to simply begin again, to use a new urban blueprint as a national tabula rasa. In climate change parlance, the phrase is "managed retreat," an engineered withdrawal of communities from vulnerable land. Mr. Joko's new capital is perhaps the most daring expression of this impulse. What better way to manifest Indonesia's hopes of progress — and those of so many countries like it — than to build a future from scratch?

"As an urban planner, I can say that there is some skepticism about I.K.N.," said Deden Rukmana, chair of the community and regional planning department at Alabama A&M University and the editor of "The Routledge Handbook of Planning Megacities in the Global South." "But as an Indonesian, I think we need to prove to ourselves that we can do it, we can become a global role model in building a new capital that promotes sustainability and growth."

"I.K.N. is not just being built for Indonesians," Professor Deden added. "It's being built for the world. That's why it must succeed."

Mr. Joko, 61, who is affectionately known by the nickname Jokowi, doesn't present himself as a prophet. At international gatherings, he often seems lost in the crowd. He wears a uniform of black trousers and a white button-down, with an undershirt occasionally peeking through the thin cloth. Late last year, we spent a day touring the site of the new capital. He was keen to show me what he had planned. But when his advisers tried to prod him to oratorical heights about the project underway, he summoned a list, not a legacy.

"I am executing all this," he said. "Highways, toll roads, maritime, airports, Nusantara, a green, smart city, building Indonesia."

Before us, heavy machinery dug into the red earth. Spindly trees fell. A retinue of aides stood at attention. Mr. Joko closed his eyes, as if conjuring a vision that only he could see.

Below Sea Level

When Emi was a girl, her family home in the Jakarta neighborhood of Pluit looked out toward the Java Sea, a fringe of sand inviting children for a swim. Brightly painted boats brought in fish to be fried with turmeric and lemongrass. At that time, Mr. Joko was carving wood in Solo, officially called Surakarta, in central Java, as yet unknown to Indonesia's political establishment.

Over the next three decades, the sea came closer and closer to Pluit. City planners built dikes to try to stop the tides from invading, but in 2007, Ms. Emi's home was doomed by a surge of water. Scores of Jakarta residents were killed in that season of flooding, as riverbanks and shores overflowed. More than half the city was deluged. With nowhere to go, the family rebuilt.

Today, across the lane from Ms. Emi's home looms a concrete wall nearly seven feet high. On the other side of the embankment, just a few inches from the top at one stretch, laps seawater.

"When I grew up here, the land was higher than the sea," Ms. Emi said. "Now, the sea is higher than the land.

"I don't think that's natural," she said.

Mr. Joko was sworn in as governor of Jakarta five years after that flood devastated Pluit. Traditionally, the post is a step to greater political heights, so many officeholders don't take a longitudinal view of the city's problems. But Mr. Joko did not treat it that way. He kick-started a mass transit project for a city that had few public transport options. He took taxes online to quell corruption. And he forced the relocation of about 7,000 squatters in Pluit so that the sea wall could be reinforced.

Still, the waters rose. Calf-high flooding invaded Ms. Emi's new living room. Three years ago, the Pluit retention structure was raised yet again. One of Mr. Joko's successors as governor of Jakarta, a presidential hopeful named Anies Baswedan, also talked up plans for tunnels, dry dams, floodgates. But such fixes, Ms. Emi said, will never be enough. The experts agree. There is too much water.

'When I grew up here, the land was higher than the sea. Now, the sea is higher than the land.'

Emi, who lives in Jakarta's Pluit neighborhood.

Flooding in Jakarta is not a new problem. The Dutch colonizers tried to export their famous canals and other engineering to the flat landscape. But the artificial waterways attracted mosquitoes and bred tropical diseases. They segregated Europeans from Indonesians. And the miles of concrete controls deprived the land of the sediment carried by the 13 rivers that flow into Jakarta. Without this seasonal infusion, the soil was starved of new layers and, along with the draining of freshwater aquifers, the city began to subside and sink.

Deforestation, overcrowding and choked city sewers contributed to the mess. Over 10 million people are

Continued on Following Page

HEADWAY

A Leader's Quest For a New Capital As Jakarta Sinks

From Preceding Page

squeezed into a space half the size of New York City, with another 20 million in the greater metropolitan area. By one account, Indonesia was the world's fourth most unequal society in 2021, and that gap yawns in Jakarta. Impoverished residents cantilever their shacks over filthy canals or build in the shadow of luxury developments. Pylons jut; pythons slither. No matter what fixes have been tried for this energetic, vibrant capital, Jakarta sprawls and smells and sinks.

Out-of-control development has also robbed the capital of green space that would serve as a natural sponge to absorb monsoons and funnel moisture to parched aquifers. Like more than half of the city, Ms. Emi's neighborhood has no piped running water. Every other day, she pays nearly $10 to fill a water tank from a truck.

Still, this sodden place with no water to drink or to bathe in is home. Ms. Emi shook her head at the prospect of a new capital halfway across the Indonesian archipelago.

"This is the capital, this is the big city," she said, sweeping her hand in front of her, past a row of boys, neatly scrubbed, heading to a mosque for the dusk prayer; past men in sarongs hunched over plates of fried noodles; past the lane that led to a pumping station, where machinery tries to keep the sea from infiltrating; past mansions gated against the poor.

It was the dry season, but water oozed anyway, gray and oily.

"That other place in Borneo, it's not even a village," Ms. Emi said of I.K.N. "A village should not be the capital of Indonesia."

The Builder in Chief

The presidential entourage stepped off a naval patrol boat near the site of Indonesia's future capital. The sun shone hard and bright. A rusting dock led to a dirt path, and civil servants more accustomed to the climate-controlled privilege of Jakarta saw the dust of a giant construction site settle on their leather shoes.

Mr. Joko had offered to show me around the layout of Nusantara, dedicating a day to the tour. Throughout our visit, his convoy of attendants included cabinet ministers, geologists, botanists, surveyors, construction foremen, military officers, local power bosses, tribal chieftains who were encouraged to come bare-chested and wearing headdresses bedecked with feathers, and at least one harried person whose responsibility appeared to be carrying the presidential iPad.

In his rumpled white shirt, black trousers and white-soled black sneakers, Mr. Joko was hard to picture as the host, in a few weeks' time, of a Group of 20 summit, standing stiffly for photo ops with other heads of state and making anodyne statements about world peace. In this swath of trees in Borneo, Mr. Joko seemed invigorated. Some of the attending bureaucrats stumbled on the hilly terrain; Mr. Joko loped along easily in his comfy shoes, rattling off statistics like a seasoned tour guide, reciting economic figures well past the decimal point.

We stopped and admired a soon-to-be-completed dam. Mr. Joko knew the exact cubic capacity of the project, along with various adjustments that had been made to its construction. Nusantara will depend almost entirely on renewable resources, he said, offering a brief soliloquy on the merits of wind, solar and hydro power generation. He vowed that the new capital would be carbon-neutral in a few decades.

We tramped down little steps to a circular concrete plaza nestled among trees. White letters set against the forest canopy announced that this was the "zero point" of Nusantara's construction, where ground was broken last year. Mr. Joko hurried to assure me that the trees around us were from a eucalyptus plantation, not virgin rainforest. No endangered species, he said, would be harmed for his new capital.

We visited a plant nursery, where Mr. Joko, who majored in forestry engineering, pointed out the soil needs of each scrawny sapling listing in the heat. One day, he said, Nusantara would be a garden of delights, filled with endemic hardwoods that he hoped to reintroduce. Three-quarters of Nusantara will be reserved for forest, compared with less than 10 percent green space in Jakarta.

"I check on all the seedlings," Mr. Joko said. "I check twice, my minister checks four times, and the director general checks eight times."

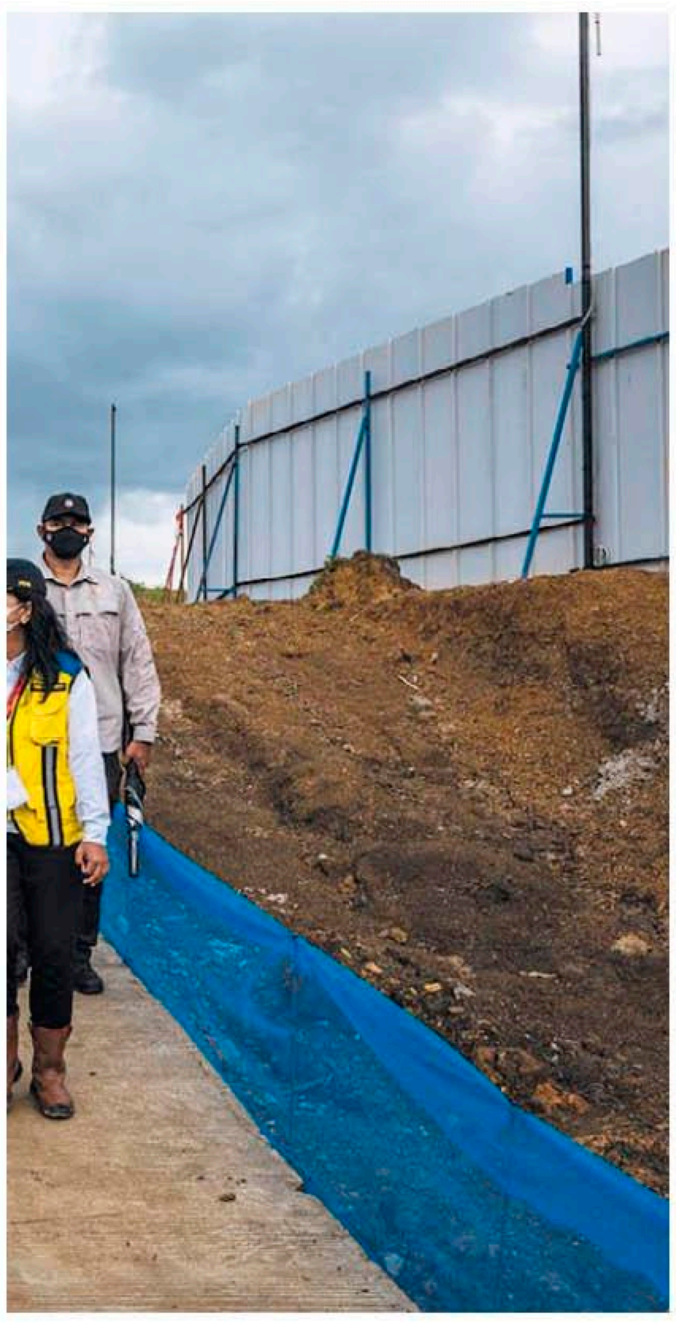
At another stop, construction workers wearing their hard hats askew stood at attention as Mr. Joko described where the parliament building and the presidential palace — shaped like the mythical bird Garuda, a national symbol — would be. Tethered balloons tilting in the wind marked each spot. There was little evidence of actual construction. We marched on. There, he explained, would be the national mosque and other places of worship for a multifaith society. Nearly two million residents will flock to the new capital within a couple of decades, the president promised, although he demurred on whether there was enough groundwater for these future inhabitants.

At lunch — capped, Mr. Joko was careful to note, by a wild durian, locally grown — he expanded on his I.K.N. plan, describing how daily needs would be met within a 10-minute stroll or ride. In Jakarta, 16 percent of the population uses public transport; he is aiming for 80 per-

‘Nature will not be happy if we build like this.’

Sibarani Sofian, an urban design specialist, on how the earth will bear the load when construction is rushed.

At a plant nursery in Borneo, Mr. Joko pointed out the soil needs of each sapling. Left, bulldozers cleared acres of plantation forestland. Despite the tight time frame, not a single showcase structure has been completed.



Mr. Joko, left, leading the tour of the new capital, which will be called Nusantara, on Borneo. Above, at a soon-to-be-completed dam, Mr. Joko knew the exact cubic capacity of the project, along with adjustments that had been made to its construction.

cent in Nusantara. Closing his eyes again, Mr. Joko described the new capital's future treasures.

“Autonomous vehicles,” he said, rapturously. “Transport hubs.”

New capitals are built for different reasons. Some are gaudy extensions of egos, like the capital of Kazakhstan, which was briefly named Nur-Sultan after the country's longtime authoritarian leader, or Naypyidaw, a remote bunker of a city built by Myanmar's military junta. Some, like Canberra and Washington, represent compromise between rival cities.

Still others, like Dodoma in Tanzania or Islamabad in Pakistan, were efforts to shift national centers of gravity. And another category is that of the spillover — Putrajaya in Malaysia and the as-yet-unnamed replacement to Cairo in Egypt — new administrative bases that are designed to relieve overcrowding in nearby metropolises.

Mr. Joko's new capital is being built for most of these reasons. Moving the capital was the ambition of the authoritarian leaders of Indonesia's past, but its democratically elected president has used his power to make it a priority. During the Covid-19 pandemic, as Indonesia's legislature dithered over city planning, Mr. Joko pushed through a national law that covers the smallest details for Nusantara, including the minimum size of a civil servant's living quarters. He got more than $30 billion earmarked for the project.

“If you build a new city, it will take time. It cannot be overnight,” said Bambang Susantono, the head of the Nusantara Capital City Authority. “It's not like Aladdin comes with his genie.”

In fact, I.K.N.'s construction is being rushed to meet a tight deadline: the end, in 2024, of Mr. Joko's term in office. Architects were given 10 days to submit proposals for some of the capital's showpiece buildings. The first phase of the city is expected to be completed in just two years. The urgency is born of anxiety: Without Mr. Joko's imprimatur, the capital project could founder, leaving the jungle to reclaim half-built ministries. Mr. Anies, the former Jakarta governor and a likely contender in next year's presidential election, has expressed opposition to the new capital.

Critics of I.K.N. note that the government will only commit to 20 percent of the projected cost. The rest of the funding is supposed to come from domestic and foreign investors. Few Indonesian firms have banked rupiah for the venture. SoftBank, the Japanese tech conglomerate, pulled away last year. Countries that Mr. Joko says are interested in investing, like Saudi Arabia, Singapore and the United Arab Emirates, haven't signed major contractual commitments.

Still, a local poll put Mr. Joko's approval rating at 76 percent in January. Political watchers wonder whether he will try to extend his presidency beyond the term limit, giving him time to see the project through. He has also begun to align himself with another presumed presidential contender who is supportive of I.K.N.

Before setting off for Nusantara, the presidential entourage visited a market in the oil town of Balikpapan on the eastern coast of Borneo. Shoppers clasped Mr. Joko's hands to their foreheads, a sign of reverence. There was a lot of screaming and frenzied selfie-taking. Mr. Joko asked residents about the price of yam leaves and cooking oil. A woman lectured him about the rising cost of tempeh, fermented soybean cakes. What was Mr. President going to do about it, she asked. Mr. Joko promised to look into it. A note taker appeared by the president's side, amid the scrum of shoppers and security, and wrote down the price shift in tempeh down to the smallest coin.

Starting Over

Sitting on the 28th floor of a Jakarta skyscraper, the view obscured by smog, Sibarani Sofian sighed. Scattered around him — on the walls, across the table in unruly piles, in rolled loops on the floor — were plans for Nusantara, a jewel of a metropolis in a forest.

In 2019, nearly 300 firms bid for a chance to create the master plan for Indonesia's new capital. Few were more surprised than Mr. Sibarani when he was named the winner. He had a strong reputation at multinational urban design firms and later set up his own outfit, but he was under no illusion that he was the next Oscar Niemeyer, who designed Brasília, or Pierre Charles L'Enfant, the mind behind Washington, D.C.

“I thought, Why don't they get an internationally famous architect to build the new capital?” Mr. Sibarani said. “I thought, We should really have someone more qualified to do this.”

Mr. Sibarani nonetheless threw himself into the project. He got to know Borneo's landscape and its local architectural traditions. “Borneo is famous for its tropical rainforests, and I feel strongly that, as an Indonesian building the new capital, the plan should emulate nature,” he said.

His blueprint for a new Indonesian capital includes stilted buildings and elevated walkways that link to transportation hubs so residents can bypass Nusantara's hilly terrain. The design loosely mimics the natural layering of a tropical canopy, allowing for cooling breezes and rainwater dispersal to reduce soil subsidence.

When constructing the capital of the Dutch East Indies, the colonizers built squat, thick-walled houses, just like back home. The buildings baked in the heat. Indonesia's vernacular architecture, with its soaring wooden profiles, allows for better air circulation and water drainage.

Mr. Sibarani said he hoped that Nusantara's design would encourage other developing countries to build cities inspired by their own customs and environments, rather than aping Western conventions. But his vision for Nusantara began to erode even before ground was broken last year. When Mr. Joko visited the region, he took in the view from a helipad perched on a hill. The hillside made for a good photo op — a commanding leader inspecting his new domain — and soon after, Mr. Sibarani said, he was informed that the site of the new city would be moved upland by about three kilometers, away from the flat spot nestled in the bay where he had wanted to build.

“We do what Mr. President says, and I just implement his vision for Nusantara,” Basuki Hadimuljono, the minister of public works and public housing, told me when I asked about the shifting plans. “Mr. President is always looking for the wow factor.”

In Indonesia, this is known by the abbreviation A.B.S.: Asal Bapak Senang, or “as long as the boss is happy.”

Mr. Joko's order placed Nusantara in an undulating landscape where, Mr. Sibarani said, only 30 percent of the land should properly support construction. By the end of next year 60,000 people are supposed to move in, but not a single residential tower has been built for them. The local soil includes thin clay that, if left untreated, cannot easily support blocks of skyscrapers that would maximize the available space. Mr. Sibarani and other planners are worried about how the earth will bear the load when construction is rushed on a tight time frame.

“Nature will not be happy if we build like this,” Mr. Sibarani said.

The urban design was further complicated last year when Mr. Joko traveled to Moscow. The Russian capital's broad avenues, with their capacity for grand spectacle, impressed him. Another presidential directive came down: broaden the main avenue in I.K.N. to six one-way lanes with a larger right of way. No matter that such a wide avenue contradicted the walkable, efficient ethos Mr. Joko had championed. The president's wish for an enlarged footprint for the presidential palace threw off the city's proportions, too.

“You give birth to a baby and hope it has two eyes, normal features,” Mr. Sibarani said. “And it turns out it looks like a Cyclops.”

Mr. Sibarani took off his glasses and rubbed his eyes. In the conference room, some of the blueprints for the heart of Nusantara were crinkled. Others had been cast aside. He looked at a scale model of the new capital, bits of foam board glued together in diminishing concentric circles to represent the uneven terrain.

The top had detached from one hill. He swept it away apologetically.

Sons of the Soil

Borneo, which is shared with the countries of Malaysia and Brunei, is home to some of the world's largest tracts of primary rainforest, bursting with about 15,000 plant species. In these humid jungles live orangutans, pygmy elephants, proboscis monkeys and clouded leopards — though fewer than there used to be. About half of Borneo's rainforests were cut down in the four decades before 2015, much of it illegally, based on satellite analysis by environmental groups.

Much of the future capital's sprawl is on land that was supposed to be protected from urban development, including part of an officially designated na-

Continued on Following Page

HEADWAY

A Leader's Quest For a New Capital As Jakarta Sinks

Mr. Joko leaving the new capital. Top, a boy in Jakarta. Forty percent of the current capital is now below sea level.

From Preceding Page

tional park. Environmental groups say they still have not seen an environmental impact assessment for I.K.N. Although local officials trumpet the area's commitment to conservation, timber, paper and oil palm plantations spread across the hills down to the bay. The national park itself is pockmarked with coal mines. A crackdown last year on illegal mining in the preserve had little effect. One of the supposedly shuttered mines still has bulldozers trundling across its scarred landscape.

These facts on the ground show the chasm between Mr. Joko's ambitions — a clean, green city for a clean, green nation! — and the reality of a country where the destruction of virgin rainforest is propelled by rampant corruption. (The country ranks 110th out of 180 countries on Transparency International's 2022 corruption perception index.) The seeds of Indonesia's problems — graft, overcrowding, environmental pillaging, cultural degradation — flourish here, too.

Mr. Joko has repeatedly called for moratoriums on forest-clearing, and he has had success in taming the theft of rainforest for the palm oil industry in parts of Indonesia. But local leaders have considerable autonomy to issue permits for the extraction of natural resources. East Kalimantan, the province that surrounds I.K.N., provides 60 percent of Indonesia's coal exports. Last year, in part because of soaring energy prices after the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Indonesia shipped a record amount of coal overseas. In recent months, some Nusantara planners have backed away from committing the new capital fully to renewable energy.

"Indonesia is notorious for having good laws that are poorly implemented," said Eka Permanasari, an associate professor of urban design at Monash University, Indonesia. "There is the possibility that Nusantara can be a reference for future cities, but that depends on what's on paper being implemented in the field."

The original inhabitants of Nusantara's forests know well the heartbreak of navigating Indonesian rules and regulations. Beginning in the 1960s, members of the Balik Indigenous group were told that the terrain they once roamed wasn't really theirs. After all, where were their property deeds? Businessmen from Jakarta snapped up timber, rubber and oil palm concessions in the East Kalimantan rainforest. Migrant workers arrived, too, as part of a program called transmigrasi, which helped to alleviate overcrowding in Java by giving land rights to people willing to resettle in remote regions. Javanese now make up the largest ethnic group in East Kalimantan. Primary rainforest gave way to transmigrasi villages and monoculture.

Pandi Jonadi, a Balik elder, lives in a settlement close to the Nusantara dam construction site. Nearly 100 Balik families were forced into the village after the forest they had used for generations was taken for a timber plantation in 1969. That land includes what would one day become Nusantara's "zero point."

"The government treats us like their trash," he told me. He was sitting on wood-patterned vinyl flooring in his house, waving away the insects swarming a fluorescent light. His mustache bristled. "They respect endangered species even more than us humans."

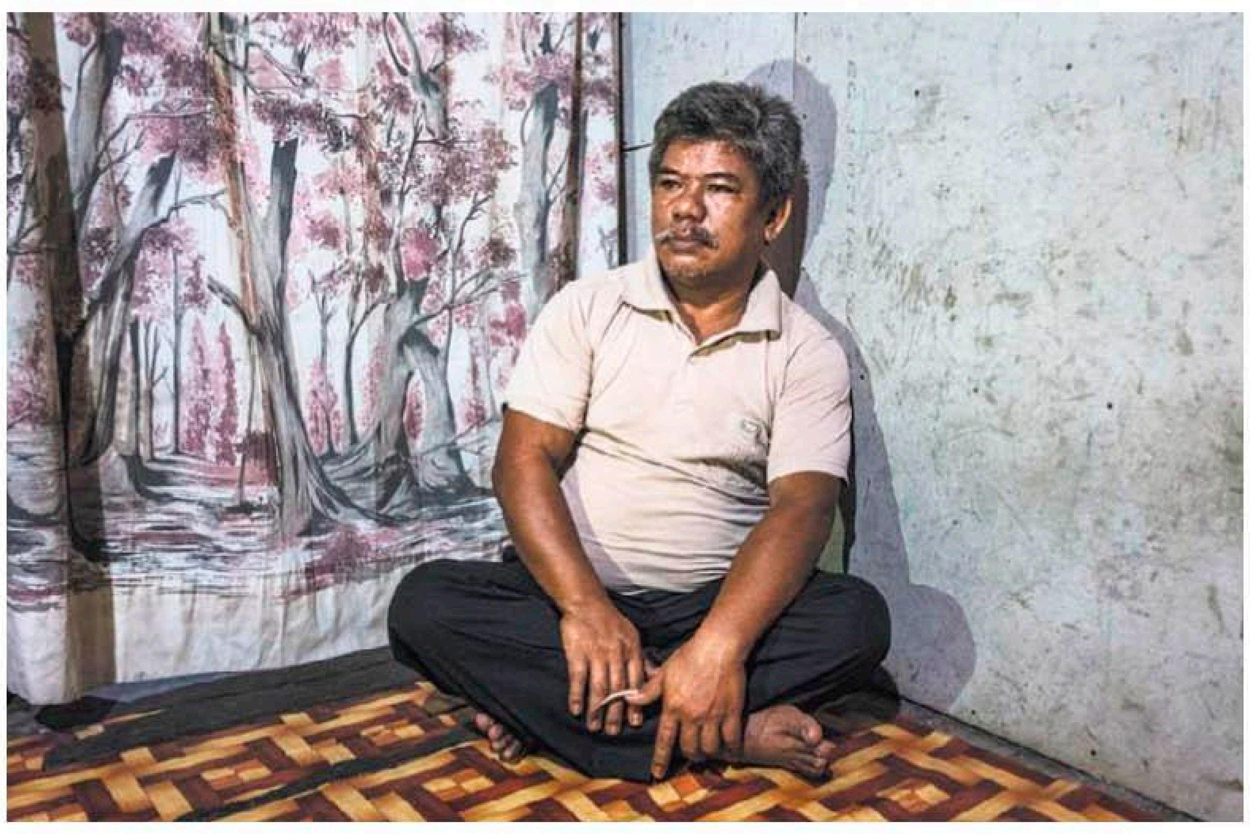
Once the dam is completed, the hamlet where the Balik were forcibly relocated will be destroyed. Capital development officials say they have been working with the community to ensure they will be moved safely and compensated adequately. Mr. Pandi said that since his village was slated for destruction, no official had given him specifics about resettlement. Land speculation is driving up local real estate prices.

"All they told us is that we can sell Balik souvenirs to tourists who come to visit the dam," Mr. Pandi said. "That's not enough."

The governor of East Kalimantan, Isran Noor, is a member of another Indigenous tribe. Before his province was chosen for Nusantara, he said he opposed any force that would destroy local forests. He had grown up, he said, revering nature as a "son of the soil."

'All they told us is that we can sell Balik souvenirs to tourists who come to visit the dam. That's not enough.'

Pandi Jonadi, a Balik elder, will have to move to make way for the new capital.



Now, however, Mr. Isran is an enthusiastic supporter of the new capital. He joined us on the tour and enjoyed face time with the president. New jobs and new technology, he said, would help the province develop. And whether the land became eucalyptus farms or oil palm plantations or remained virgin rainforest, "it's just changing one type of vegetation for another," as he put it.

Certainly, the big landholders in the region, and the companies they have been associated with, stand to profit. One is Mr. Joko's foreign investment adviser, a mining and agriculture magnate. Another is the brother of Indonesia's defense minister. In a previous job, Mr. Isran was in charge of dispensing dozens of permits for coal mines not far from the I.K.N. site.

"No one in East Kalimantan is unhappy about the new capital," Mr. Isran said. "No one."

A Fresh Start

On a hill above the construction site for the presidential palace, a man named Roni stepped down from his truck and wiped away sweat. He was glad for the work ferrying loads of earth. It paid $110 a month, better than his previous hours spent at a coal mine. But he was nonetheless baffled by the project.

"I have no idea why Jokowi wants to put the capital here," Mr. Roni said, laughing. "But I'm glad we have his attention."

Mr. Roni is Dayak — a broad term for a grouping of Indigenous peoples in Borneo that includes the Balik. The Dayak have been treated as cultural curiosities for centuries, both by Europeans and by others from the Indonesian archipelago. But from Mr. Roni's perspective, Mr. Joko is a leader for all kinds of Indonesians.

No other president had bothered to visit local Dayak communities repeatedly, Mr. Roni said. No other president had committed to providing local people with so many jobs. And no other leader had made them feel that their little part of a big island was as much part of Indonesia as Java was.

The president's commitment to Indonesia's many peoples is not new, even if reformers have been disappointed by the malleability of that dedication. In 1998, Mr. Joko defended terrified Chinese Indonesians when pogroms erupted, part of a pattern of deadly persecution of the minority group. While governor of Jakarta, he chose as his deputy an ethnic Chinese Christian. His deputy, who became governor, was later imprisoned for blasphemy, a conviction that human rights groups said was politically motivated, driven by enemies of Mr. Joko's secular administration.

Mr. Joko, like every president of Indonesia save one, is Javanese. Moving the capital to Borneo is a statement of intent, an attempt to redistribute the country's economic and demographic heft away from a single island. "Indonesia is more than Jakarta," Mr. Joko said. "Indonesia is more than Java. So we must make the capital in a place that is far away."

Mr. Joko, who is not prone to rhetorical embellishments, is a poor spokesman for Nusantara. And yet excavators and bulldozers, backhoes and loaders, cranes and cement mixers rumble through the forest like columns of Borneo fire ants. Mr. Joko's vision is expressed through these machines that dig and shift and build.

"If my children and my grandchildren can experience living in the capital of Indonesia," Mr. Roni said, "that will be amazing."

Muktita Suhartono contributed reporting.

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National

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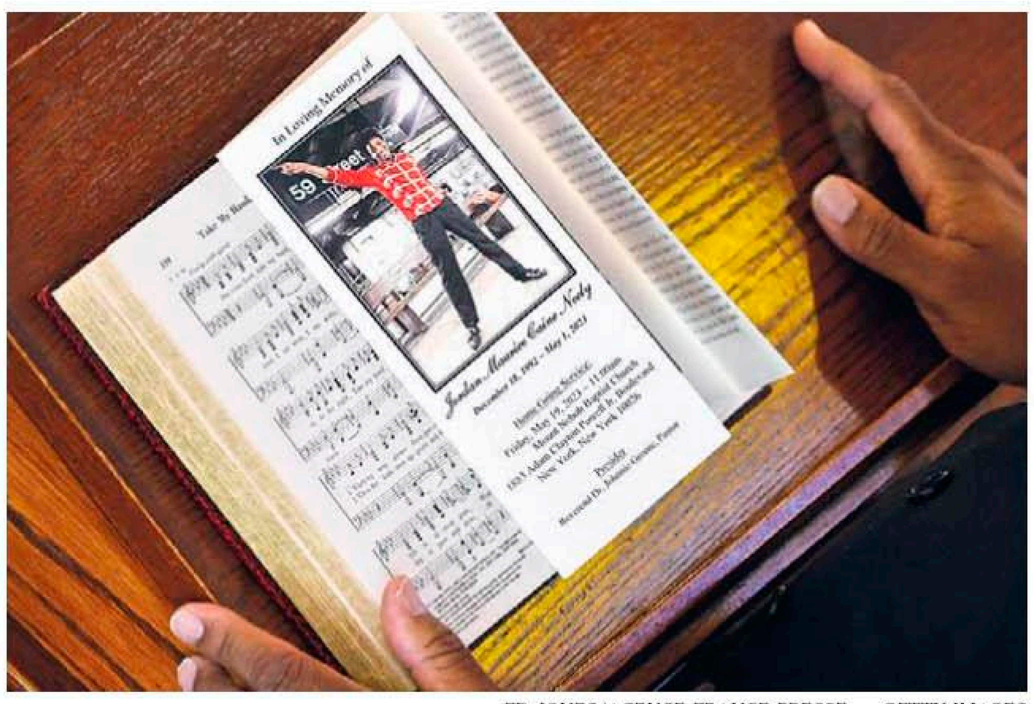

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HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Andre Zachery, Jordan Neely's father, and center, a program from Friday's service. The Rev. Al Sharpton delivered the eulogy. "When they choked Jordan, they put their arms around all of us," he said.

At a Somber Funeral in Harlem, Demands for Accountability

Hundreds of People Mourn Man Choked To Death on Subway

By MARIA CRAMER and HURUBIE MEKO

Jordan Neely spent the last few weeks of his life riding the subways of New York, hungry, desperate and alone.

But at his funeral on Friday at Mount Neboh Baptist Church in Harlem, hundreds gathered to mourn him, including friends, family members, prominent Democratic politicians and the Rev. Al Sharpton, who delivered his eulogy, in a public outpouring of grief for a man who spent his final days in solitude and anonymity.

The May 1 killing of Mr. Neely, 30, who the police said had been acting in a "hostile and erratic manner" on an F train before another subway rider placed him in a chokehold for several minutes, quickly divided political leaders and led to protests around the city.

It has sparked debate between those who believe that the man who killed Mr. Neely, Daniel Penny, responded with violent vigilantism to a person who needed help, and those who believe he was trying to stop a threat. And it has raised questions about safety on the subway and the care provided to homeless and mentally ill people living in the city.

In an impassioned eulogy, Mr. Sharpton demanded accountability for Mr. Neely's killing, and said that in the weeks since, there had been a "distortion of values," referring to the description of Mr. Penny by his lawyers and others as a hero who was protecting frightened passengers.

"Jordan was screaming for help. We keep criminalizing people with mental illness," Mr. Sharpton said during a speech that brought the crowd to its feet. "They don't need abuse, they need help."

Mr. Penny, 24, has been charged with second-degree manslaughter. An online fund-raiser for his legal defense amassed more than $2.6 million in donations after it was promoted by conservative politicians.

The chokehold was captured in a four-minute video, but many questions still remain about what took place before the video began. Witnesses told the police that Mr. Neely had shouted that he was hungry, thirsty and "ready to die." There has been no indication that he physically attacked anyone.

At least 200 people filled the church, where Mr. Neely's remains lay in a white coffin draped with white and red flowers. Some mourners came dressed as Michael Jackson in honor of Mr. Neely, a street performer who impersonated the singer.

Church leaders said the funeral should serve as an occasion to remember how Mr. Neely lived. An a cappella group sang "People Get Ready" by Curtis Mayfield. The funeral program showed photos of Mr. Neely as a baby, a grinning graduate, and in a red and black leather jacket reminiscent of Michael Jackson's "Thriller" era.

But much of the service focused on the outrage Mr. Neely's death had stirred.

GABRIELA BHASKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Several Democratic leaders attended the funeral, including Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Jumaane Williams, New York City's public advocate.

Yusef Salaam, who is running for City Council in Harlem, came with his mother to the funeral, where in a speech he drew parallels between Mr. Neely's death and his own experience as one of the Exonerated Five, a group of teenagers wrongly convicted of the 1989 rape of a woman in Central Park.

"Here we are in the year 2023, having witnessed the lynching, a lynching, a lynching in the public square," said Mr. Salaam, whose conviction was overturned in 2002. "A lynching of a Black man who was never given a chance by the system that was designed to keep him oppressed."

Some political leaders in the city have asked why the police did not arrest Mr. Penny immediately after the killing, a criticism that mourners repeated during the funeral service.

Mr. Sharpton argued that had Mr. Neely been a white Elvis Presley impersonator, and had it been a Black man who choked him, the police "would not have let that Black guy leave the precinct that night."

On Friday, Clio Calvo-Platero, a spokeswoman for the Civilian Complaint Review Board, the independent agency tasked with investigating police misconduct, said it had received a complaint about the police decision not to charge right away.

The agency was investigating the complaint as an "abuse of authority," Ms. Calvo-Platero said.

In a statement, the police said that cases were examined to "ensure probable cause exists to make an arrest."

"In this case, the N.Y.P.D. collected and examined evidence and interviewed multiple witnesses at the scene and immediately began searching for additional witnesses to gain a complete picture of the facts," the police said. The investigation was done alongside the Manhattan district attorney's office.

On Friday, there were several police officers outside the church, where a small group of protesters held signs calling for accountability. The scene remained fairly calm as mourners inside listened intently to Mr. Sharpton's speech.

Mr. Neely was an example of how the city's systems are "choking the homeless" and "choking the mentally ill," he said.

"When they choked Jordan, they put their arms around all of us," he said. "All of us have the right to live."

Throughout his remarks, Mr. Sharpton was unflinching in his criticism of Mr. Penny and of the politicians like Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida, a Republican, who have described Mr. Penny as a good Samaritan.

"A good Samaritan helps those in trouble," he said. "They don't choke them."

Several Democratic politicians attended the funeral, including Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez; Jumaane Williams, the New York City public advocate; and Lt. Gov. Antonio Delgado. Not present was Mayor Eric Adams, who has been criticized by Mr. Neely's family and by left-leaning politicians for his muted initial response to the killing.

"Jordan Neely's life mattered and his death was a tragedy," Fabien Levy, a spokesman for Mr. Adams, said. "Mayor Adams is thinking about Jordan and his family today, and wanted to ensure that Jordan was the sole focus at today's service."

Friends have recalled Mr. Neely as a talented dancer who adored performing in front of subway riders and mystified tourists.

Moses Harper, a street performer who often danced with Mr. Neely, said since his death she had received calls from people in Australia and Europe who remembered his performances.

"Jordan loved interacting with people all over the world who were visiting New York City," she said, standing outside the church. "It wasn't just that he was dancing. He was connecting with people from all different walks of life."

But in recent years, his family said, he was struggling with mental illness and addiction, problems that were set off by the murder of his mother, Christie Neely, who was killed by her boyfriend when Mr. Neely was 14.

Mr. Sharpton noted that Ms. Neely's funeral had taken place at the same church, with her son seated in the front, looking at her coffin.

Ms. Harper said Mr. Neely had often spoken about how his mother's death had devastated him. "He never got that full healing he should have had," she said.

"What happened to his mother, it left a scar on him," Ms. Harper said after the funeral.

Mr. Neely was later arrested dozens of times, mostly for transgressions like turnstile-jumping or trespassing. But at least four arrests were on charges of punching people, including in the subway system.

He was placed on what outreach workers refer to as the "Top 50" list — a roster maintained by the city of homeless people whom officials consider most urgently in need of assistance and treatment.

After the funeral, mourners spilled out into the street, where someone played an instrumental version of "Billie Jean" as a man break-danced in the middle of 114th Street.

A police escort led Mr. Neely's family and the hearse carrying Mr. Neely's coffin part of the way to a cemetery in Valhalla, N.Y., for a private burial. Most of the supporters who remained near the church left soon after.

A Whiplash Day of Debt Limit Negotiations Ends Without Any Progress

By CATIE EDMONDSON

WASHINGTON — Bipartisan talks between top White House and Republican congressional officials over a deal to raise the debt limit ended without a breakthrough on Friday, capping a day of whiplash as negotiators seeking to avoid the first default in the nation's history repeatedly started and ended discussions amid growing G.O.P. frustration.

Negotiations came to a halt on Friday morning after Republicans vented anger about discussions on spending caps, and Speaker Kevin McCarthy declared a "pause" to the talks. Just hours later, he announced Republicans' return to the negotiating table, but the discussions ended after an hour on Friday night with seemingly no resolution, and it was unclear when negotiations would resume.

The series of abrupt turns reflected the unwieldy state of negotiations over a bipartisan deal to avert a debt default that could occur as soon as June 1, coupled with a mounting sense of urgency to find a resolution as Congress runs out of time to avoid the economic calamity that could follow.

By the end of the night, Mr. McCarthy's top advisers were casting doubt on whether they could achieve a deal by the end of the weekend, a timeline the speaker had said on Thursday he saw "a path" to achieving.

Several outstanding issues remain in the negotiations, lawmakers said, but Republicans appeared particularly discouraged by what they said was White House officials' refusal to budge on how strictly to cap federal spending.

"It's very frustrating if they want to come into the room and think we're going to spend more money next year than we did this year," Mr. McCarthy, a California Republican, said on Fox Business on Friday evening, as he announced that his deputies would return to the negotiating table. "That's not right, and that's not going to happen."

The bill that House Republicans passed last month would raise the nation's borrowing limit into next year in exchange for freezing spending at last year's levels for a decade — which would lead to cuts of an average of 18 percent.

"We've got to get movement by the White House, and we don't have any movement," Mr. McCarthy said earlier on Friday, as he announced the initial pause.

Talks came to a halt after discussions about capping federal spending.

President Biden was checking in regularly with negotiators from Hiroshima, Japan, where he was attending the annual meeting of the Group of 7 major industrial powers, but aides traveling with him sounded less optimistic about a deal in the coming days than they had a day earlier.

"There's no question we have serious differences, and this is going to continue to be a difficult conversation," Karine Jean-Pierre, the White House press secretary, told reporters in Japan. "That's not lost on us. But the president's team is going to continue to work hard toward a reasonable bipartisan solution that can pass the House and the Senate."

In a nod to growing complaints on the left, Ms. Jean-Pierre emphasized that "we need Republicans and Democrats." And when pressed by reporters on the more measured tone, she insisted that "the optimism continues to be there," while adding several times that a deal would depend on whether Mr. McCarthy "will negotiate in good faith" and that everyone should recognize that "you don't get everything you want."

Both Democratic and Republican leaders were facing pressure from their bases not to compromise as negotiations continued.

Former President Donald J. Trump weighed in on Friday on his social media site, declaring that Republicans should not make a deal on the debt ceiling unless they got everything they wanted.

"DO NOT FOLD!!!" he wrote.

In a letter, liberal Democratic lawmakers renewed their calls for Mr. Biden to "refuse to reward Republicans' reckless refusal to raise the debt ceiling without preconditions," urging him instead to invoke the 14th Amendment to continue issuing new debt to pay bondholders, Social Security recipients, government employees and others.

Negotiators were at odds over a handful of issues, including the extent to which a possible deal would include tougher work requirements for social safety net programs — a proposal that has drawn a backlash from progressive Democrats — and the length of any debt limit extension.

Conservatives in the House G.O.P. conference had grown increasingly concerned in recent days that Mr. McCarthy would agree to a deal freezing spending at current levels, rather than at last year's levels, and would not lock in the kind of spending cuts for which they have long agitated.

Zolan Kanno-Youngs contributed reporting from Washington, and Peter Baker from Hiroshima, Japan.

Man Accused of Posting Secrets Will Stay Behind Bars Before Trial

By ALICIA NAPIERKOWSKI and GLENN THRUSH

WORCESTER, Mass. — Jack Teixeira, the 21-year-old Air Force National Guardsman accused of posting a trove of secret documents online, will remain in prison pending his trial because he poses a continuing threat to national security and public safety, a federal magistrate judge ruled on Friday.

The judge, David H. Hennessy, cited Airman Teixeira's history of seeking out and posting classified intelligence materials in defiance of his superiors at an Air Force base on Cape Cod in Massachusetts, in denying his request to be released on bond into the custody of his father.

Airman Teixeira's actions were "a profound breach" of his vow to protect sensitive information when he received his security clearance, Judge Hennessy said during a 45-minute hearing at the federal courthouse. His ruling came after the government said the airman continued to have access to sensitive intelligence months after his superiors noted his suspicious behavior.

"Who did he put at risk?" Judge Hennessy said, after the defense team played down the possibility he would leak new information. "I mean, you could make a list as long as a phone book."

Airman Teixeira, wearing an orange prison uniform and sporting a buzz cut, seemed to be in an upbeat mood when he entered the courtroom, smiling and greeting his family. But his demeanor appeared to darken after the magistrate made his ruling, and he left the hearing with a somber, glassy-eyed expression.

The decision was a victory for the government, which is seeking to send the strongest message to potential leakers after a humiliating disclosure of national security secrets that appears to have been pulled off by a young man trying to impress his online friends.

The government had also argued that it was too dangerous to release Airman Teixeira into his community outside Boston, presenting evidence that he had made racist and violent threats. A review of thousands of posts on the social media platform Discord this month by The New York Times revealed that the airman had expressed fascination with mass shootings, conspiracy theories and weapons.

The judge said he believed the airman, who was found with a small arsenal of handguns and semiautomatic rifles near his bed at his home, had an "unhealthy fascination" with firearms, as expressed in his writings and posts.

"The danger he poses to the community is a grave one," Judge Hennessy added.

Airman Teixeira's two court-appointed lawyers, who had argued unsuccessfully that he posed a minimal risk if released, did not respond to questions from reporters.

Airman Teixeira's family expressed disappointment with the ruling. "Jack's well-being and safety is our priority right now," the family wrote in an email sent by a spokeswoman. "As a family, we are as committed as ever and remain steadfast and determined in our complete support of Jack as we continue to wade through this process."

The judge expressed disgust at Airman Teixeira's disclosure of national security secrets, and said it was plausible that he might divulge additional intelligence to foreign governments. But he also displayed sympathy, even admiration, for Airman Teixeira's parents for standing by their son and offering to leverage their financial future to pay for his release.

"His family ties, in my sense, are remarkable," Judge Hennessy added.

Federal prosecutors disclosed late Wednesday that the airman's superiors had missed opportunities to limit his access to the secrets about the Ukraine war he brazenly shared with people from around the world who subscribed to three chat groups on Discord.

Air Force officials caught Airman Teixeira taking notes and conducting deep-dive searches for classified material months before he was charged with leaking a vast trove of government secrets, but did not remove him from his job, according to a court filing.

On two occasions in September and October 2022, Airman Teixeira's superiors in the Massachusetts Air National Guard admonished him after reports that he had taken "concerning actions" while handling classified information.

Those included stuffing a note into his pocket after reviewing secret information inside his unit, according to the court filing.

The airman's superiors also ordered him to "cease and desist on any deep dives into classified intelligence information," although it is not clear how, or if, they enforced that directive.

In a third incident earlier this year, one of his superiors urged him "to focus on his own career duties and not to seek out intelligence products."

Two of Airman Teixeira's superiors at the 102nd Intelligence Wing on Cape Cod have been suspended pending completion of an internal investigation by the Air Force inspector general, said a spokeswoman for the service, Ann Stefanek. Their access to classified information has been temporarily blocked, she added.

Now that Airman Teixeira has been ordered detained, his case will most likely be assigned to a different federal judge, in Boston. There remains a remote possibility that lawyers with the Justice Department's national security division will request the case be moved to a court in Northern Virginia, which includes the Pentagon, but that is increasingly unlikely, people with knowledge of the situation said.

The next major step is likely to be the filing of a grand jury indictment, which would include a much more detailed narrative of the allegations against Airman Teixeira, including an accounting of the charges he will face. Prosecutors have already suggested the charges could result in a prison sentence of at least 25 years.

Alicia Napierkowski reported from Worcester, Mass., and Glenn Thrush from Washington.

Perjury Charge Considered Against Trump Lieutenant

JEFFERSON SIEGEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Officials are said to be examining statements Allen H. Weisselberg made in 2020 in a civil inquiry by New York's attorney general.

This article is by ***William K. Rashbaum****,* ***Ben Protess*** *and* ***Jonah E. Bromwich****.*

One of Donald J. Trump's longtime lieutenants, Allen H. Weisselberg, was recently released from the notorious Rikers Island jail complex after pleading guilty to a tax fraud scheme. Yet Mr. Weisselberg's legal troubles are far from over.

The Manhattan district attorney's office is now considering a new round of criminal charges against Mr. Weisselberg, 75, and this time he could be charged with perjury, according to people with knowledge of the matter.

The threat of new charges represents the latest effort in a two-year campaign to persuade Mr. Weisselberg to testify against Mr. Trump. And it comes at a crucial time, just weeks after the district attorney, Alvin L. Bragg, unveiled an indictment of the former president.

Mr. Weisselberg has so far refused to turn against his former boss, but the prosecutors recently ramped up the pressure, warning his lawyers that they might bring the perjury charges if their client declined to testify against Mr. Trump, two of the people said.

The potential perjury charges stem from statements Mr. Weisselberg made under oath during a 2020 interview with the office of the New York attorney general, Letitia James, who was conducting her own separate civil investigation into Mr. Trump and his family business. It is not clear which part of his testimony raised red flags for prosecutors and Ms. James, or how Mr. Bragg might prove that Mr. Weisselberg intentionally made a false statement.

As a trusted financial gatekeeper to Mr. Trump's family for nearly a half-century, Mr. Weisselberg was privy to behind-the-scenes machinations that could make him a valuable witness on several fronts.

He could help Mr. Bragg in the case unveiled against Mr. Trump last month — which stems from a $130,000 hush-money payment to a porn star during the 2016 presidential campaign — as well as with a separate investigation into whether Mr. Trump fraudulently inflated his own annual financial statements. Ms. James's office is participating in that ongoing investigation.

If Mr. Weisselberg refuses to cooperate, he could face a range of new charges. In addition to pursuing the perjury case, the prosecutors have indicated to his lawyers that they are considering unrelated insurance fraud charges against him.

They also appear to be weighing whether to charge Mr. Weisselberg with inflating the numbers on Mr. Trump's financial statements. The prosecutors recently sought to interview one of Mr. Weisselberg's former Trump Organization colleagues, who might be able to shed light on his involvement in crafting the annual statements, the people said.

There is no sign that Mr. Weisselberg, who recently retired from the Trump Organization with a hefty payout, is close to breaking, or that charges are imminent. But the latest prosecutorial pressure campaign may raise questions about the fairness of threatening a man of advanced age who just got out of jail.

"The guy has already been prosecuted and served his time, and he's 75 years old," said Daniel J. Horwitz, a criminal defense lawyer who served in the district attorney's office for nearly a decade. "Most defense lawyers are going to scratch their heads and say, 'Is this fair?' "

But Stephen Gillers, a legal ethics professor at New York University School of Law, said, "There would be nothing improper about charging Mr. Weisselberg a second time with different crimes."

Mr. Weisselberg's lawyer, Seth L. Rosenberg, declined to comment, as did a spokeswoman for Mr. Bragg and a lawyer for Mr. Trump.

Mr. Bragg is not the only prosecutor scrutinizing Mr. Trump. The former president might also face criminal charges in Georgia, where a local prosecutor is examining his effort to undo the 2020 election results, and in Washington, where federal prosecutors are investigating his handling of classified documents, among other matters.

The possibility of new criminal charges from Mr. Bragg marks a return to an earlier focus of the criminal investigation into the former president.

When Mr. Bragg took office in January 2022, prosecutors in his office were already presenting evidence to a grand jury about Mr. Trump's financial statements. His predecessor, Cyrus R. Vance Jr., who did not seek re-election, had authorized the prosecutors to move forward with the case.

But Mr. Bragg soon became skeptical, concerned that they lacked enough evidence to demonstrate Mr. Trump's intent to falsify the statements, a key element of proving the case. Mr. Bragg also lacked confidence in relying on the testimony of Michael D. Cohen, a former fixer for Mr. Trump who was directly involved in the hush-money deal but played a lesser role in Mr. Trump's financial statements.

Enter Mr. Weisselberg, the Trump Organization's former chief financial officer, a role that provided him a front-row seat to the creation of the financial statements.

The district attorney's first pressure campaign against Mr. Weisselberg peaked in the summer of 2021, when Mr. Vance, unable to secure Mr. Weisselberg's assistance, brought criminal charges against him and the Trump Organization in the tax fraud case. Despite refusing to implicate Mr. Trump personally, Mr. Weisselberg ultimately pleaded guilty and testified against the Trump Organization at its trial last year.

The company, which continues to pay for his lawyers, was convicted. And Mr. Weisselberg, as part of a plea deal, served 100 days in the Rikers Island jail.

Now, Mr. Weisselberg's release from jail, rather than representing a reprieve, is expected to deliver him back into the jaws of the same predicament: He can turn on Mr. Trump, or potentially spend the rest of his life behind bars.

Although perjury is a low-level felony, Mr. Weisselberg could still face significant prison time. The judge who has overseen Trump-related cases, Juan Merchan, sentenced Mr. Weisselberg to 100 days in Rikers Island in the tax fraud case and warned him that he typically imposes tougher sentences in white-collar cases.

Even if Mr. Weisselberg were to turn on Mr. Trump, the former president's lawyers have potential defenses to a case built around the financial statements. Those annual statements, which assigned values to Mr. Trump's hotels, golf clubs and other assets, contained disclaimers noting that the values were unaudited estimates. And in general, assigning values to real estate is a subjective process, not an exact science.

Yet Mr. Vance felt that the financial statements case was strong, even without Mr. Weisselberg's cooperation, leading him to authorize the grand jury presentation before he left office at the end of 2021. The two lead prosecutors on the case, Mark Pomerantz and Carey R. Dunne, continued that presentation in the early days of Mr. Bragg's tenure.

When Mr. Bragg halted the presentation in February of last year, it prompted Mr. Pomerantz and Mr. Dunne to resign and set off a media and political uproar that engulfed Mr. Bragg's early tenure.

But the investigation continued.

As one group of prosecutors pushed forward with the case centering on a hush-money payment to a porn star — the one for which Mr. Trump was recently indicted — a separate group continued to investigate Mr. Trump's financial statements.

While the hush case is moving ahead with Mr. Cohen as the prosecution's star witness, Mr. Bragg has been reluctant to charge Mr. Trump for his financial statements without Mr. Weisselberg on board.

And so, while Mr. Weisselberg was behind bars, Mr. Bragg's prosecutors told his lawyer that he might face charges in the unrelated insurance fraud inquiry, The Times reported early this year. That inquiry has focused on whether Mr. Weisselberg lied to an insurance company by claiming that the value of the Trump Organization's real estate holdings had been assessed by an independent appraiser, when in fact they had not been.

In recent weeks, the prosecutors broadened their focus to include the potential perjury charge, which would center on Mr. Weisselberg's 2020 interview with Ms. James's investigators, the people with knowledge of the matter said. Last year, Ms. James sued Mr. Trump and Mr. Weisselberg for overstating the former president's net worth by billions of dollars. (Her investigators interviewed Mr. Weisselberg again this month, as Ms. James's lawsuit against him and Mr. Trump proceeds.)

In 2020, Ms. James's investigators questioned Mr. Weisselberg about some significant errors in Mr. Trump's financial statements. At one point during the interview, court records show, Mr. Weisselberg acknowledged that the Trump Organization had overvalued Mr. Trump's penthouse apartment in Trump Tower by "give or take" $200 million.

D.C. Police Lieutenant Charged With Leaking Information to Proud Boys Leader

By ALAN FEUER and ZACH MONTAGUE

MARIO CRUZ/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

A veteran police officer was suspended from his job as an investigation into his ties to Enrique Tarrio, center, moved forward.

Federal prosecutors unsealed charges on Friday against a veteran police officer in Washington, accusing him of obstructing justice by leaking law enforcement information to Enrique Tarrio, the former leader of the Proud Boys.

Prosecutors say that the officer, Lt. Shane Lamond, 47, told Mr. Tarrio that he would not face hate crime charges after a group of Proud Boys under his command burned a Black Lives Matter banner at a historic Black church in Washington after a pro-Trump rally in the city in December 2020. The episode took place weeks before the far-right group played a central role in the Capitol attack on Jan. 6, 2021.

Mr. Lamond, who worked as an intelligence expert for the Metropolitan Police Department, was suspended from his job as an investigation into his ties to Mr. Tarrio moved forward. He also gave Mr. Tarrio advance notice that he would be arrested in connection with the banner-burning episode in early January 2021 as he returned to Washington for the events of Jan. 6.

A lawyer for Mr. Lamond, Mark Schamel, said that the defendant was a decorated officer and that his position "required contact with extremist groups who sought to undermine our democracy on Jan. 6." The lawyer added that Mr. Lamond does not support their views, "nor has he ever."

Prosecutors began examining Mr. Lamond and Mr. Tarrio's relationship after the Capitol attack, when a group of about 200 Proud Boys helped lead a pro-Trump mob in breaching barricades and ultimately disrupting the congressional certification of the 2020 election results.

Mr. Tarrio and three of his lieutenants were convicted this month of seditious conspiracy in connection with the attack.

According to an indictment filed against Mr. Lamond in Federal District Court in Washington, Mr. Tarrio provided him information about the Proud Boys' plans to descend on Washington on Jan. 6. In a text to Mr. Lamond on Dec. 19, 2020 — the same day President Donald J. Trump posted a tweet summoning his followers to the city for what he called a "wild" protest — Mr. Tarrio said that the Proud Boys' participation in the Jan. 6 event would be "extremely small" and that members of the group would not be wearing their black-and-yellow uniforms.

The two men had been in contact since July 2019 and corresponded regularly after the 2020 election, with Mr. Tarrio often providing notice about plans to bring his group to rallies in support of Mr. Trump. Mr. Lamond "regularly provided sensitive law enforcement information" in return, the indictment said, including guidance about their movements and those of anti-Trump protesters in Washington.

The exchanges, often through encrypted messaging, suggest the extent to which Mr. Tarrio and other Proud Boys leaders cultivated relationships with members of law enforcement.

Even after Jan. 6, Mr. Tarrio and Mr. Lamond continued to communicate about the legal fallout from the riot, exchanging reactions to the violence and trading information about the larger investigation. Texts included in the indictment show that Mr. Tarrio, who had also passed along information to the F.B.I. and Florida police officers in the past, appeared to have kept a similarly close and cooperative relationship with Mr. Lamond.

"I think I could have stopped this whole thing," Mr. Tarrio texted on Jan. 7, before offering to help the police arrest someone in connection with the riot.

"Let me know if she's on your list," Mr. Tarrio wrote. "I'll have her turn herself in."

"Looks like the feds are locking people up for rioting at the Capitol," Mr. Lamond texted back on Jan. 8. "I hope none of your guys were among them."

In addition to obstructing the investigation into Mr. Tarrio, Mr. Lamond had deliberately misrepresented the conversations to investigators, prosecutors said. Mr. Lamond described the exchanges as "one-sided" and as routine intelligence-gathering when he had often reached out to Mr. Tarrio with privileged details about Metropolitan Police Department activities.

Lawyers for Mr. Tarrio sought to call Mr. Lamond a defense witness at the sedition trial, but Mr. Schamel told them that if Mr. Lamond were called to testify, he would invoke his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination. Mr. Tarrio's legal team then tried to have Judge Timothy J. Kelly confer immunity on Mr. Lamond and compel him to take the stand, but the judge refused.

Unable to obtain Mr. Lamond's live testimony, Mr. Tarrio's lawyers chose to introduce several of the text messages the two men exchanged in an effort to show that they were in close contact with each other in the run-up not only to Jan. 6 but also to other pro-Trump events in Washington that preceded it.

The lawyers were hoping to persuade the jury that Mr. Tarrio could not have been planning a seditious plot against the government while actively keeping a veteran police officer in the loop about the Proud Boys' activities.

"I am shocked and disgusted to see that the government used certain information in the indictment against Lt. Shane Lamond that was not allowed to be introduced in our trial," said Nayib Hassan, a lawyer for Mr. Tarrio.

CONGRESSIONAL MEMO

Like Others, Feinstein Struggles to Let Go

From Page A1

hung on until past his 100th birthday. Robert C. Byrd, the West Virginia Democrat, died in office at age 92 after 51 years in the Senate. Despite serious medical issues, Thad Cochran, Republican of Mississippi, ran for reelection at 76, with the prospect of leading the powerful Appropriations Committee too good to pass up — though he later resigned before the end of his term, citing his failing health.

Ms. Feinstein, 89, Democrat of California, has announced her retirement but has refused to entertain the idea of resigning before her term ends in 2025, even as she suffers from substantial memory issues and struggles to do the job after suffering serious complications from shingles, including encephalitis.

Ms. Feinstein may appear to be uniquely stubborn, but she is far from alone in being unwilling to let go.

After decades in office, it can be hard to imagine leaving behind a life of being treated like a visiting head of state when traveling abroad, being a sought-after voice on influential Sunday shows and the guest of honor at lavish fund-raisers, and being attended to by staff members whose lives are dedicated to making the unpleasant hassles of your own fade away.

It is not just the perks, like free, reserved parking spots at D.C. airports, that make it appealing to hang on. Ms. Feinstein, after all, is wealthy, and has flown on private planes for the majority of her career.

But with long years in Congress also comes more seniority, more seasoned staff, committee chairmanships and the ability to funnel more money toward one's state. There's the built-in soapbox of the Senate floor, where members can champion their priorities, or rail against policies they oppose. There's the camaraderie of being part of a team, drawn closer together by the built-in adversary that is the opposing party.

Many aging lawmakers also feel they have experience to contribute that makes them more effective than ever for their constituents as they enter life's final chapters.

Ms. Feinstein insists that she is still effective, even though her health challenges have forced her to give up some of her power and prestige; she bowed in 2020 to Democrats' wishes that she give up her spot as the top Democrat on the Judiciary Committee, and stepped aside rather than serve as president pro tempore of the Senate this year, a post that usually goes to the most senior member of the majority party. Still, she insists it is not time to go yet.

"I continue to work and get results for California," she said in a statement this week.

Former Senator Barbara Boxer, a Democrat who made history with Ms. Feinstein in 1992 when the two were elected as the first female senators from California, said it is incredibly difficult to let go of a job you love, especially one in which "not only can you get things done, you could stop bad things from getting done — even as just one person."

She described other benefits of life as a senator, a profession for which men and women have identical job descriptions and age is regarded as a virtue, not a liability.

"The Senate is a workplace where there is total equality between men and women, which is not true in most places," she said. "Women and men get old and are not often respected, so they stay in the Senate or the House to sort of prove people wrong."

There is also, Ms. Boxer said, "just the right amount of celebrity — it's not overwhelming, but very satisfying when people come up and say, 'Thank you.' "

The Senate, often referred to as the world's most exclusive retirement home, where the average age is over 65 and octogenarians are not uncommon, also fosters an environment conducive to aging in power. There is an attending physician on hand at the Capitol, and medical prescriptions are delivered from a nearby pharmacy to the basement of the building for easy pickup.

The truncated Senate schedule — a typical week begins Monday evening and concludes on Thursday afternoon — leaves plenty of downtime, not to mention weeks and weeks of recess, when a lawmaker can really do whatever he or she pleases, especially if they represent a deeply red or blue state, like Ms. Feinstein's solidly Democratic California, where there's no real chance of being unseated.

Conversely, the threat of losing is often the only thing that prompts a senator to consider moving on, as Senator Rob Portman, the moderate Ohio Republican, decided to do at age 65 rather than seek re-election in 2022 in a state that increasingly leans heavily to the right.

Ms. Feinstein, for her part, poured her entire life into her work. She has never taken vacations. She had little identity outside of her role in the Senate, which at one point was formidable. People who have spoken to her over the years said she could never understand other people's decisions to leave when there was always more work to be done.

But some of her former colleagues have taken a more balanced approach to the job.

"I felt I had done so much," Ms. Boxer said of her decision in 2015 to end a 30-year career in Congress. "I felt good inside. I felt there was a big bench of people waiting to go. I thought, enough."

HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Dianne Feinstein has said that she will not run again in 2024 but also that she won't resign.

JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ms. Feinstein campaigning in 2018 with Barbara Boxer, her former colleague from California.

STEPHEN CROWLEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Strom Thurmond at 98 in 2001. He held his South Carolina seat past the age of 100.

Promise by Governor Complicates the Plan To Replace a Senator

By THOMAS FULLER and SHANE GOLDMACHER

SAN FRANCISCO — Two years ago, Gov. Gavin Newsom of California vowed on national television that if Senator Dianne Feinstein stepped down early, he would appoint a Black woman to replace her.

It was a promise that was only theoretical at the time even though questions were already emerging about the fitness of Ms. Feinstein, who turns 90 next month, to serve out her term. But after Ms. Feinstein contracted shingles earlier this year, was homebound and then returned to Washington frailer than ever, the contingency plan has become far more pressing — and more politically complicated.

A heated 2024 campaign to replace Ms. Feinstein is already underway, featuring three heavyweights from the California congressional delegation: Representative Katie Porter, a favorite of the progressive left; Representative Adam Schiff, who earned national fame managing the first impeachment of former President Donald J. Trump; and Representative Barbara Lee, the only Black woman of the three, who is best known for casting the lone vote in Congress against the war in Afghanistan more than two decades ago.

Now, if a vacancy comes, Mr. Newsom would have to decide whether to elevate Ms. Lee over her white rivals or find a caretaker who would agree not to seek a full term in 2024, presuming he keeps his pledge.

"The hard part now is the race is not that many months away, right?" Mr. Newsom said in a local television news interview this month about the upcoming Senate election. "The primary is early next year so it's now a very different place — it's not an academic conversation, like it was a year ago."

Black leaders are watching closely. "The one thing we have as political people is our word," said Lori D. Wilson, the chair of the California Legislative Black Caucus, who supports the appointment of Ms. Lee.

Mr. Newsom has already appointed one United States senator, replacing Kamala Harris, after she became vice president, with Senator Alex Padilla, who is California's first Latino senator. The decision in December 2020, however, left no Black women in the Senate, disappointing Black leaders and party activists.

Nearly three months later, Mr. Newsom promised to appoint a Black woman to replace Ms. Feinstein, if she ever were to resign, during an interview on MSNBC with Joy Reid, the network's most prominent Black woman anchor.

Ms. Feinstein has given no indication that she plans to step down even as her condition has plainly worsened. A New York Times report this week revealed that Ms. Feinstein had suffered from encephalitis, a previously undisclosed complication of the bout of shingles that kept her away from the Senate for more than two months. The condition, which is characterized by swelling of the brain, can result in lasting memory or language problems.

Mr. Newsom has expressed his wishes for her improved health, calling her "a mentor and a friend." But he cannot escape the political ramifications if she were to leave office early, since he would be forced to pick her replacement.

"I hope I'll never have to make that decision," Mr. Newsom said last month.

Decades apart in age, Mr. Newsom, 55, and Ms. Feinstein both cut their teeth in bare-knuckle San Francisco politics and they have mostly been allied, with a notable exception coming in 2004 after Mr. Newsom decided to issue gay marriage licenses in City Hall. When Democrats suffered losses that fall, including the White House, Ms. Feinstein blamed the mayor obliquely for motivating conservatives, calling it "too much, too fast, too soon."

Garry South, a Democratic political consultant who worked in the administrations of former governors in California and Ohio, says Mr. Newsom's dilemma recalls what he describes as the poisoned chalice of political appointments.

"It's kind of a no-win situation," he said of Mr. Newsom's choice of candidates. "When you appoint somebody to office you get one ingrate and nine people who are pissed off at you."

Three top powerful House Democrats in the running for an abbreviated term.

Mr. South, who once served as a campaign manager for Mr. Newsom, predicted that the governor would not "put his thumb on the scale" among the three candidates.

"I think he would be perfectly excused for appointing a caretaker until the Democrats can sort out which of these three major Democrats they want to move onto the general election," he said.

Even the notion of appointing a caretaker can be fraught.

Mr. Newsom, who has spoken little in public about whom he might appoint, has seen up close that short-term appointees do not necessarily keep their word. When he left San Francisco's mayoralty, Mr. Newsom backed Ed Lee as his interim replacement. At the time, Mr. Lee promised not to seek a full term but he eventually did.

Some allies of Ms. Lee, who is not related to Mr. Lee, have publicly ratcheted up pressure for Ms. Feinstein to resign, most notably Representative Ro Khanna of California. But Nancy Pelosi, the former House speaker who has endorsed Mr. Schiff for Senate, has rejected calls for Ms. Feinstein to step down as sexist.

Mr. South points out that from a horse-race standpoint, Ms. Lee is polling in the single digits in early polling, running third behind Mr. Schiff and Ms. Porter. "What kind of sense would it make to elevate a candidate in a distant third position over the other two better-known, better-polling candidates?" he said.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that Mr. Newsom's own circle of political strategists have split loyalties.

The firm of his longtime advisers, Ace Smith and Sean Clegg, is working for a pro-Schiff super PAC. His former spokesman, Nathan Click, is advising Ms. Porter. Two other Newsom strategists, Dan Newman and Brian Brokaw, are working for a pro-Lee super PAC.

Thomas Fuller reported from San Francisco, and Shane Goldmacher from New York.

Reported Death of Migrant Girl, 8, in Detention Raises Concerns on Border Policy

By EILEEN SULLIVAN and EMILIANO RODRÍGUEZ MEGA

An 8-year-old girl who died while in U.S. border custody on Wednesday had been detained for a week — more than twice the amount of time the government generally aims to hold migrants, particularly children, according to two people familiar with the situation.

The girl and her family were being held in a Customs and Border Protection facility in Harlingen, Texas, where they were waiting to be deported on a flight to Honduras. The family was among thousands of migrants who crossed the country's southern border ahead of the expiration of a pandemic-era immigration rule that the authorities had feared would lead to a large influx of migrants and overcrowding at border holding facilities.

The people familiar with the situation spoke on the condition of anonymity because the child's death is under internal investigation.

Honduras's foreign ministry identified the girl as Anadith Danay Reyes Álvarez, a Panamanian national known to her family as Ana, who was born with a heart condition. Her parents, who are Honduran, traveled to the United States so that their daughter could have "a better life," said Antonio García, the country's foreign vice minister.

Customs and Border Protection officials said on Wednesday that emergency medical services had transported the girl to a hospital, where she died. Biden administration officials did not respond to additional questions about the circumstances surrounding the child's death, citing the internal review. A border official in Texas who was not authorized to speak publicly said that Ana had a serious medical condition of which officials had not immediately been aware.

Though all migrants are given health screenings when taken into federal custody, the death of a child is at the heart of concerns about the government's policy of detaining children for any period of time and particularly in crowded settings. While there is no law or official guidance about how long undocumented migrants are to be detained while in border custody, the government typically aims for about three days.

In the past week the authorities have struggled with overcrowding at border facilities, which quickly exceeded capacity after a spike in illegal migration ahead of last week's lifting of the pandemic-era public health rule, known as Title 42.

That policy had allowed officials to expel some migrants swiftly, instead of holding them in custody. Since its expiration, officials have reverted to policies that involve longer processing times for migrants.

On May 17, the day Ana died, migrants were being held for an average of four and a half days, according to internal data obtained by The New York Times, compared to an average of a little under three days on May 10.

"The bottom line is you need to get families out of C.B.P. custody because the conditions generally are substandard and not appropriate for kids to be held in," said Wendy Young, the president of the advocacy group Kids in Need of Defense. Scientific studies have concluded that detaining children, even if they are with their parents, can cause developmental and mental health issues.

Brandon Judd, the leader of the Border Patrol labor union, said agents have raised concerns about the crowded detention centers. "There's a reason that you have a certain capacity, and that's for the safety of everybody," Mr. Judd said. "When you exceed that capacity, then safety levels are going to go way down."

In 2018 and 2019, when the numbers of migrant crossings reached high levels, the Trump administration came under intense criticism for the death of minors in Customs and Border Protection detention.

In an interview with Univision on May 18, Lorna Santos, Ana's aunt, said that the child's mother told officials at the Customs and Border Protection facility that Ana was having trouble breathing, but that a medical staff member dismissed her concerns. Ms. Santos said the girl's mother told her that Ana later fainted and was taken to a hospital, where she died in the waiting room.

Wilson Paz, the director of Honduras's migrant protection service, said Ana's father told Honduran authorities that she had undergone surgery in Panama three years ago to address a membrane blocking blood from reaching her heart. Mr. Paz said she was tested for Covid-19 when she went to the United States, and she was diagnosed with the flu.

The Biden administration has been managing a historic spike in illegal migration for the past two years, as people flee authoritarian states, violence and extreme poverty. Though the administration added more staff to help process migrants into the country and increased Customs and Border Protection's capacity to hold migrants before Title 42 expired, it was not enough to stave off the backups that led to overcrowding last week.

In the week since the policy ended, however, the number of illegal crossings have been down significantly, with an average of 3,000 to 4,000 apprehensions a day, the Homeland Security Department said, compared to the nearly 10,000 apprehended a day around the time that Ana and her family crossed. The majority of the migrants have been from Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala. Since May 12, more than 11,000 migrants have been expelled to Mexico or repatriated, the department said in a statement on Friday.

On May 10, Ángel Eduardo Maradiaga Espinoza, a 17-year-old Honduran boy, died while he was in a Florida shelter overseen by the Department of Health and Human Services, the agency charged with overseeing the care of migrant children who cross into the United States without a parent or guardian. The boy's mother said he was epileptic but had not been sick when he traveled to the United States.

Eileen Sullivan reported from Washington, and Emiliano Rodríguez Mega from Mexico City. Zolan Kanno-Youngs contributed reporting from Washington.

Donors Have Helped Make DeSantis a Frequent Flier

SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ron DeSantis, who is expected to run for president, has been navigating loopholes in ethics laws to avoid using commercial flights.

SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

GREGG NEWTON/REUTERS

Supporters on election night, when Mr. DeSantis won his second term as Florida's governor. Some of his travel expenses, which include the use of private jets, have been paid by boosters from Florida, and some money has come through a Michigan nonprofit.

From Page A1

to formally announce his candidacy next week, is hardly the first politician to take advantage of the speed and comfort of a Gulfstream jet. Candidates and officeholders in both parties have long accepted the benefits of a donor's plane as worth the political risk of appearing indebted to special interests or out of touch with voters.

But ethics experts said the travel — and specifically the role of the nonprofit — shows how Mr. DeSantis's prolonged candidate-in-limbo status has allowed him to work around rules intended to keep donors from wielding secret influence. As a declared federal candidate, he would face far stricter requirements for accepting and reporting such donations.

"Voters deserve this information because they have a right to know who is trying to influence their elected officials and whether their leaders are prioritizing public good over the interests of their big-money benefactors," said Trevor Potter, the president of Campaign Legal Center and a Republican who led the Federal Election Commission. "Governor DeSantis, whether he intends to run for president or not, should be clearly and fully disclosing who is providing support to his political efforts."

Representatives for the governor's office and for Mr. DeSantis's political operation declined to comment or provide details about who has arranged and paid for his flights.

Mr. DeSantis has aggressively navigated his state's ethics and campaign finance laws to avoid flying commercial. And he has gone to new lengths to prevent transparency: Last week, he signed a bill making travel records held by law enforcement, dating back to the beginning of his term, exempt from public records requests.

Mr. DeSantis is still required to report contributions and expenses in his campaign finance records, but the new law probably prevents law enforcement agencies from releasing more details, such as itineraries, flight information or even lists of visitors to the governor's mansion. (Mr. DeSantis says he is trying to address a security concern.)

In February, Mr. DeSantis traveled to Newark on a jet owned by Jeffrey Soffer, a prominent hotel owner who, according to several lawmakers and lobbyists, has sought a change in state law that would allow him to expand gambling to his Miami Beach resort.

The February trip and others were arranged by And To The Republic, a Michigan-based nonprofit, according to Tori Sachs, its executive director.

The nonprofit formed in late January as Mr. DeSantis was beginning to test the national waters and quickly became a critical part of his warm-up campaign. It organized nearly a dozen speaking events featuring the governor in at least eight states.

Ms. Sachs would not say how much was spent on the flights or who paid for them.

'In Full Compliance'

It is unclear how Mr. DeSantis will account for the trips arranged by the nonprofit without running afoul of state ethics laws. Florida generally bars officeholders from accepting gifts from lobbyists or people, like Mr. Soffer, whose companies employ lobbyists — unless those gifts are considered political contributions.

But both Ms. Sachs and a person involved in Mr. DeSantis's recent travel said they did not consider the trips political contributions or gifts. The person was not authorized to discuss the matter and spoke on condition of anonymity. The group's practice "is to provide transportation for special guests," Ms. Sachs said, "in full compliance with the law."

Florida ethics rules, however, give politicians plenty of loopholes. In some circumstances, for example, officeholders can accept paid travel to give speeches as part of their official duties. The state ethics commission has also allowed officeholders to accept gifts from lobbyists if they are channeled through third-party groups.

Since taking office in 2019, Mr. DeSantis, who has worked in public service his entire career and reported a net worth of $319,000 last year, has steadily leaned on others to pick up the tab for private flights.

His political committee has accepted private air travel from roughly 55 wealthy, mostly Florida-based contributors and companies associated with them, including the heads of oil and gas companies, developers and homebuilders, and health care and insurance executives, a Times analysis of campaign finance records shows.

Additional travel donations were routed to the Republican Party of Florida, which Mr. DeSantis often used as a third-party pass-through.

A half dozen lobbyists and donors who spoke with The Times said they became accustomed to calls from the governor's political aides asking for planes — in at least one case, for a last-minute trip home from out of state and, more recently, for a flight to Japan.

The Japan trip, which was part of an overseas tour that gave Mr. DeSantis a chance to show off his foreign policy chops, was considered part of the governor's official duties and was organized in part by Enterprise Florida, a public-private business development group. But Mr. DeSantis's office would not disclose how it was paid for or how he traveled. Enterprise Florida did not respond to requests for comment.

Mr. DeSantis's office rarely releases information about nonofficial events. (In February, when he traveled to four states in one day, his public schedule simply read, "No scheduled events.") And Mr. DeSantis has brushed off past criticism of his travel. In 2019, The South Florida Sun Sentinel revealed a previous flight to New York on a plane owned by Mr. Soffer. Mr. DeSantis said he had followed proper procedures.

"It's all legal, ethical, no issues there," he told reporters.

A spokeswoman for Mr. Soffer declined to comment.

The Warm-Up Campaign

Soon after winning re-election in November, the governor turned to building his national profile. He began traveling the country to visit with Republican activists, dine with donors, speak at events and promote a new book, "The Courage to Be Free: Florida's Blueprint for America's Revival."

Some of his travel was paid for by Friends of Ron DeSantis, a Florida political committee that supported his campaign for governor and reports its donors. The committee had more than $80 million on hand as recently as last month — money that is expected to be transferred to a federal super PAC supporting his presidential run.

Since November, that committee has received 17 contributions for political travel from nine donors. They include Maximo Alvarez, an oil and gas distributor, and Morteza Hosseini, a Florida homebuilder who has frequently lent his plane to the governor and has become a close ally.

But trips paid for by the nonprofit group, And To The Republic, do not appear in state records.

The group is registered as a social welfare organization under Section 501(c)(4) of the federal tax code, meaning its primary activity cannot be related to political campaigns.

Other prospective and official presidential candidates also have relationships to similar organizations, often called dark money groups because they are not required to disclose their donors.

The nonprofit's founder, Ms. Sachs, said it was formed to promote "state policy solutions that are setting the agenda for the country" and described Mr. DeSantis as one of the first elected officials to "partner" with the group. Another of those officials, Gov. Kim Reynolds of Iowa, has appeared at the group's events in her home state — alongside Mr. DeSantis.

And To The Republic has hosted Mr. DeSantis at events in South Carolina, Nevada and Iowa, all key early primary states. Some of those events were promoted as "The Florida Blueprint," borrowing from Mr. DeSantis's book title.

The arrangement has made tracking Mr. DeSantis's travel — and its costs — difficult. The Times and other news outlets used public flight trackers to verify the governor's use of Mr. Soffer's plane, which was first reported by Politico.

Other trips arranged by the group include the Feb. 20 stops outside Philadelphia and Chicago and the return trip to Tallahassee, on which Mr. DeSantis flew on a plane registered to a company run by Charles Whittall, an Orlando developer. Mr. Whittall, who gave $25,000 to Mr. DeSantis's political committee in 2021, said that he uses a leasing company to rent out his aircraft, and that he did not provide it as a political contribution.

In March, he traveled to Cobb County, Ga., on a plane owned by an entity connected to Waffle House, the Georgia-based restaurant chain. The company did not respond to a request for comment.

Other potential DeSantis rivals have made headlines for their use of private jets. Both as South Carolina governor and as ambassador to the United Nations, Nikki Haley faced criticism for flying on private planes owned by wealthy South Carolinians.

In 2020, The Associated Press reported that donors gave hundreds of thousands of dollars in private air travel to Donald J. Trump's fund-raising committee. The donors included Ben Pogue, a Texas businessman whose father later received a presidential pardon.

Still, Mr. Trump — who owns his own plane — has repeatedly sought to draw attention to Mr. DeSantis's travel, claiming the private planes were effectively campaign contributions and "Ron DeSantis is a full-time candidate for president."

Shane Goldmacher and Michael C. Bender contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett and Sheelagh McNeill contributed research.

In Key State, New Strategy With a Move To the Middle

By NICHOLAS NEHAMAS

Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida on Friday hinted at how he might try to soften his image as a conservative hard-liner, a strategy that appeared intended to target more moderate voters in the state, which holds a centrist reputation and could be decisive in the Republican primary.

During a discussion with state lawmakers outside Manchester, N.H., Mr. DeSantis, who is expected to declare his candidacy for president next week, largely focused on pocketbook and family issues with broader appeal, including school choice, tax cuts, crime and inflation, rather than aspects of the more divisive social agenda he has pushed as governor.

For instance, Mr. DeSantis barely referenced his legislation on transgender issues and did not touch on abortion at all. Last month, he signed a six-week abortion ban, one of the most restrictive in the nation. (New Hampshire limits abortions after 24 weeks of pregnancy.)

"If you look at what we've been able to accomplish," Mr. DeSantis said of his legislative record in Florida, "there is something in there for anybody in terms of the issues that we tackled."

Mr. DeSantis needs a strong showing in New Hampshire — along with a win in the more conservative Iowa — to demonstrate that he has staying power in the race against his main rival for the Republican nomination, former President Donald J. Trump, the governor's allies and some of his political advisers say.

Mr. Trump is running 20 points ahead of Mr. DeSantis in New Hampshire, according to a mid-April poll from the University of New Hampshire Survey Center. The challenge for Mr. DeSantis lies in how he separates himself from Mr. Trump, not just on policy but also in terms of personality.

"The message is very similar, but there are many people, and I would count myself as one of them, who are offended by Trump's crudeness," said Mark Pearson, a state representative in New Hampshire who has endorsed Mr. DeSantis and attended the Manchester event on Friday, which took place at the Bedford Village Inn. "Elections are won in the middle. The battle is won with the Bedford soccer moms who are moderate Republicans, who are training their kids to speak politely, and Trump turns them off."

DeSantis attempts to soften his image in New Hampshire

On a private conference call with donors and supporters a day earlier, Mr. DeSantis argued that he was the only Republican who could win a general election — and pointed to his support from legislators in New Hampshire, roughly 50 of whom have endorsed him. He also visited the state last month.

The lawmakers who backed him, Mr. DeSantis said on the call, were "saying similar things like, you know, the governor is the guy, that he can win, he can get things done, all this other stuff."

Mr. Trump won New Hampshire in 2016, a victory that put him on the path to capturing the Republican Party's nomination, after losing Iowa to Senator Ted Cruz of Texas. Mr. Trump won the state even as he favored large rallies over the more intimate politicking that New Hampshire residents say they want to see from candidates.

"In New Hampshire, it's about meeting almost every voter," said Jason Osborne, the Republican State House majority leader, who has endorsed Mr. DeSantis. The important factor for the governor, Mr. Osborne said, is whether he will "be able to connect with people as he meets them face-to-face."

After his remarks to the lawmakers, Mr. DeSantis met with voters in Manchester at the Red Arrow Diner, a mainstay of every presidential campaign that has already received visits this year from Nikki Haley and Vivek Ramaswamy, as well as Mr. Trump.

Doug McGinley, a retired investment manager, snapped a picture of his grandson standing with the governor outside the diner. Mr. McGinley said he did not want to vote for Mr. Trump, whom he considers self-interested. But he isn't yet sold on Mr. DeSantis.

"I need to see more of him firsthand," Mr. McGinley said. "I want to see if he can catch fire on a retail level. I'm glad to see him doing things like this."

Maggie Haberman contributed reporting.

South Carolina Republican Expected to Announce Bid

By JONATHAN SWAN and MAGGIE HABERMAN

TRAVIS DOVE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Tim Scott already has about $22 million for a presidential run, which marks him as a serious contender.

Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina will announce his candidacy for president on Monday and will enter the race with around $22 million cash on hand, making him one of the most serious competitors for the front-runner, Donald J. Trump, even as Mr. Scott has hovered around 2 percent in Republican primary polls.

After announcing his campaign in his hometown, North Charleston, Mr. Scott will head to Iowa and New Hampshire, the first two states of the Republican nominating contest. Mr. Scott's campaign has reserved around $6 million in advertisements across television and radio in those states, according to an adviser with direct knowledge of Mr. Scott's plans. The Scott campaign also plans to spend millions of dollars on digital ads that will target Iowa and New Hampshire voters and will run through the first Republican primary debate, scheduled to be held in August.

Mr. Scott, the most influential elected Black conservative in America, has a compelling life story around which he is expected to build his campaign. He portrays his rise from poverty to become the first Black senator from South Carolina and the only Black Republican in the Senate as an embodiment of the American dream.

Mr. Scott rarely criticizes Mr. Trump directly, but his message could not be more different from the former president's. While Mr. Trump talks ominously of "retribution" — his promise to gut the civil service and law enforcement agencies that he pejoratively calls the "deep state" — Mr. Scott prefers the sunny language of Ronald Reagan.

"Americans are losing one of the most inspirational truths we have, which is hope — hope that things can and will get better, hope that education and hard work can equal prosperity, hope that we remain a city on a hill, a shining example of what can be when free people decide to join hands in self-governance," Mr. Scott said in a speech last year at the Reagan Library on the future of the Republican Party.

"America stands at a crossroads," he said, "with the potential for a great resetting, a renewal, even a rebirth — where we get to choose how we will meet the potential of today and the promise of tomorrow."

There is little evidence, so far, that Mr. Scott's message strikes a chord with the populist base of the modern G.O.P., which for the last several years has been led by a former TV star who likes to fight. For years, the Republican base has fed on apocalyptic talk that often casts Democrats as enemies bent on destroying America. In a party dominated by Mr. Trump's message of "American carnage," Mr. Scott's talk of the importance of "unity," "hope" and "redemption" can sound like a message from another time.

Mr. Scott's campaign will have to balance his inherently optimistic message against the brutal realities of Republican primary politics.

"We will be authentic to Mr. Scott's optimistic vision, but we're also not in any way afraid to draw contrasts where we need to," said the adviser with knowledge of Mr. Scott's plans.

Mr. Scott will have more than enough money to find out if there's a bigger market for his ideas than the polls suggest. His support for pro-business policies has made him a favorite of the Republican donor class, and he has billionaires like the Oracle founder Larry Ellison — who was aligned with Mr. Trump while he was in the White House — who are willing to put millions of dollars behind his campaign.

‘No Label’ Centrists Plan Third-Party Run in 2024

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

The bipartisan political group No Labels is stepping up a well-funded effort to field a “unity ticket” for the 2024 presidential race, prompting fierce resistance from even some of its closest allies who fear handing the White House back to Donald J. Trump.

At the top of the list of potential candidates is Senator Joe Manchin III, the conservative West Virginia Democrat who has been a headache to his party and could bleed support from President Biden in areas crucial to his re-election.

The centrist group’s leadership was in New York this week raising part of the money — around $70 million — that it says it needs to help with nationwide ballot access efforts.

“The determination to nominate a ticket” will be made shortly after the primaries next year on what is known as Super Tuesday, March 5, said Nancy Jacobson, the co-founder and leader of No Labels. A national convention has been set for April 14-15 in Dallas, where a Democrat-Republican ticket would be set to take on the two major-party nominees. (Mr. Biden is facing two long-shot challengers, and Mr. Trump is the Republican front-runner.)

Other potential No Labels candidates being floated include Senator Kyrsten Sinema, an Arizona independent, and former Gov. Larry Hogan of Maryland, a Republican, who has said he would not run for the G.O.P. nomination and is the national co-chairman of the group. But Mr. Manchin has received most notice recently after speaking on a conference call last month with donors.

T.J. KIRKPATRICK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

REBECCA NOBLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ANDREW MANGUM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Potential candidates include the senators Joe Manchin III, top, and Kyrsten Sinema, and Larry Hogan, the former governor of Maryland.

“We’re not looking to pick the ticket right now,” former Representative Fred Upton, a Michigan Republican and longtime associate of the group, cautioned in an interview on Wednesday as he prepared to meet with donors and leaders in New York. “Our focus is getting on the ballot.”

The drive has already secured ballot spots in Alaska, Arizona, Colorado and Oregon and is now targeting Florida, Nevada and North Carolina. But gaining ballot access nationwide is a challenging and expensive effort, and the group still has a long way to go.

Ms. Jacobson called the project “an insurance policy in the event both major parties put forth presidential candidates the vast majority of Americans don’t support.”

“We’re well aware any independent ticket faces a steep climb and if our rigorously gathered data and polling suggests an independent unity ticket can’t win, we will not nominate a ticket,” she said.

Caveats aside, the effort is causing deep tensions with the group’s ideological allies, congressional partners and Democratic Party officials who are scrambling to stop it. Third-party candidates siphoned enough votes to arguably cost Democrats elections in 2000 (Al Gore) and 2016 (Hillary Clinton). Republicans say the same thing about Ross Perot’s role in blocking George H.W. Bush’s re-election in 1992.

“If No Labels runs a Joe Manchin against Donald Trump and Joe Biden, I think it will be a historic disaster,” said Representative Dean Phillips, a Minnesota Democrat and, until now, a strong supporter of the organization. “And I speak for just about every moderate Democrat and frankly most of my moderate Republican friends.”

People close to Mr. Manchin have their doubts he would join a No Labels ticket. He must decide by January whether to run for re-election in his firmly Republican state. But he does see an avenue to return to the Senate.

The state’s popular Democrat-turned-Republican governor, Jim Justice, is running for the Republican nomination to challenge Mr. Manchin, but so is West Virginia’s most Trump-aligned House member, Alex Mooney, who has the backing of the deep-pocketed political action committee Club for Growth.

If Mr. Mooney can knock out Mr. Justice, or damage him badly by bringing up the governor’s centrist record and days as a Democrat, Mr. Manchin sees a path to re-election, and no real prospect of actually winning the presidency on the No Labels ticket.

But he is keeping his options open, at least as he raises money under the No Labels auspices.

“Let’s try to make people come back together for the sake of the country, not just for the sake of the party,” Mr. Manchin told the group’s donors on a recent conference call leaked to the news site Puck this month.

Opponents are mobilizing to stop No Labels. Maine’s secretary of state, Shenna Bellows, sent a cease-and-desist letter this month to the group’s director of ballot access, accusing the organization of misrepresenting its intentions as it presses for signatures to get on the state’s presidential ballot.

The Arizona Democratic Party sued this spring to get No Labels off the state’s ballot, accusing it of “engaging in a shadowy strategy to gain ballot access — when in reality they are not a political party.”

One of No Labels’ founders, William Galston, a former policy aide to President Bill Clinton, publicly resigned from his own organization over the push. In an interview, he pointed to polling saying that voters who dislike both Mr. Trump and President Biden — “double haters” — say overwhelmingly they would vote for Mr. Biden in the end. Given an alternative, that might not be the case.

And Democratic members of the Problem Solvers Caucus, a centrist coalition aligned with No Labels that actually does No Labels’ legislative work, are in open revolt.

“I can think of nothing worse than another Trump presidency and no better way of helping him than running a third-party candidate,” said Representative Brad Schneider, Democrat of Illinois.

No Labels has long had its detractors, variously accused of ineffectuality, fronting for Republicans and existing mainly to raise large amounts of money from wealthy corporate donors, many of whom give primarily to Republicans.

But the grumbling criticism took on a more urgent tone when Puck posted a partial transcript of a leaked conference call that No Labels held with its funders. On it, Ryan Clancy, the group’s chief strategist, said ballot organizers were at “600,000 signatures and counting,” and nearing slots on the ballot in “roughly 20 states,” with their eyes on all 50.

Mr. Manchin joined the call as the closer: “The hope is to keep the country that we have, and you cannot do that by forcing the extreme sides on both parties,” he said.

Mr. Manchin’s political appeal beyond West Virginia is questionable. The loudest discontent among Democrats with Mr. Biden has come from young voters, many of whom are animated by the issue of climate change, and they are not aligned with the coal-state Democrat on that.

Mr. Manchin is not a climate denier in the traditional sense. He has repeatedly referred to the “climate crisis” caused by human activities.

Yet Mr. Manchin, who has earned millions from his family’s coal business, has long fought policies that would punish companies for not shifting more quickly to clean energy and has accused Mr. Biden of promoting a “radical climate agenda.”

But Democrats worry. The southwestern suburbs of Pittsburgh abut West Virginia, and it would not take many Democrats bolting to Mr. Manchin to hand Pennsylvania to Mr. Trump, they warn.

Ms. Jacobson, on the leaked conference call, said No Labels had been “Pearl Harbored” by a March memo from the Democratic centrist group Third Way. The memo was bluntly titled: “A Plan That Will Re-elect Trump.”

“It wasn’t exactly a sneak attack,” Third Way’s longtime leader, Matt Bennett, countered in an interview. “We are enormously alarmed.”

Lisa Friedman contributed reporting from Washington.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRANDON WATSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Shua Wilmot said he was fired by Houghton, a Christian university, for refusing to remove his pronouns from his email signature.

Line in Email Signature Stirs Heated Debate

Two Workers Fired After They Listed Preferred Pronouns

By LIAM STACK

When Raegan Zelaya and Shua Wilmot decided to include their pronouns at the end of their work emails, they thought they were doing a good thing: following what they viewed as an emerging professional standard, and also sending a message of inclusivity at the Christian university where they worked.

But their bosses at Houghton University, in upstate New York, saw the matter very differently.

Administrators at Houghton, which was founded and is now owned by a conservative branch of the Methodist Church, asked Ms. Zelaya and Mr. Wilmot, two residence hall directors, to remove the words “she/her” and “he/him” from their email signatures, saying they violated a new policy. When they refused to do so, both employees were fired, just weeks before the end of the semester.

Houghton’s firing of the two staff members has dismayed some of its alumni, nearly 600 of whom signed a petition in protest. And it comes as gender and sexuality have become major fault lines in an increasingly divided nation, and after other faith-based organizations, including Yeshiva University in Manhattan, have argued that First Amendment protections of religious freedom allow them to treat gay and transgender people differently than others.

As Republican lawmakers across the country have sought to energize their base by passing laws restricting gender-transition health care and banning drag performances and classroom instruction about sexual orientation and gender identity, Christian colleges have become staging grounds in these escalating debates.

In particular, institutions like Hillsdale College in Michigan and Liberty University in Virginia have taken central roles, both producing and attracting leaders of the movement.

With fewer than 1,000 students, Houghton is smaller and off the beaten track, but it has made other recent moves that put it in line with its conservative Christian peers, and that have alarmed some alumni. Since 2021, it has closed a multicultural student center and an environmental sustainability program and rescinded its recognition of an on-campus L.G.B.T.Q. club after the club declined to more promote conservative views on sex and gender.

“I think it boils down to: They want to be trans-exclusive and they want to communicate that to potential students and the parents of potential students,” Mr. Wilmot said of his firing.

Ms. Zelaya and Mr. Wilmot, neither of whom is transgender, said they had professional and pastoral reasons for including their pronouns, but also a practical one: They both have uncommon, gender-neutral names, and said they have often been misgendered in email correspondence.

“There’s the professional piece to it, and the practical piece, and there’s also an inclusive piece, and I think that’s the piece this institution doesn’t want,” Mr. Wilmot, 29, said.

Michael Blankenship, a university spokesman, said in a statement that Houghton “has never terminated an employment relationship based solely on the use of pronouns in staff email signatures.”

“Over the past years, we’ve required anything extraneous be removed from email signatures, including Scripture quotes,” he said.

Raegan Zelaya said she thought the firings were motivated by the university’s efforts to appeal to conservative political beliefs.

In Ms. Zelaya’s termination letter, a photo of which was widely shared online, she was told she was fired “as a result of your refusal to remove pronouns in your email signature” as well as for criticizing an administration decision to the student newspaper.

Houghton University is affiliated with the Wesleyan Church, which teaches that “gender confusion and dysphoria are ultimately the biological, psychological, social and spiritual consequences of the human race’s fallen condition.” It views “adult gender nonconformity as a violation of the sanctity of human life.”

The university maintains a public declaration of its beliefs, describing itself as “solidly Biblical” and saying the teachings of the Wesleyan Church are “central everywhere” on campus.

“Sometimes, this means affirming positions currently called conservative,” Houghton’s statement of belief says. “For example, we privilege the understanding of marriage as between a man and a woman, and the sanctity of life from conception to natural death.”

But Houghton’s statement of belief also expresses some positions that conservatives might disagree with, including an acceptance of women into the priesthood and the belief “that we have significant work to do in healing the scars of racism in America.”

Some alumni said open debate and respect for differing views was what they valued about their time at Houghton. Almost 600 signed an open letter at the end of April protesting the termination of Ms. Zelaya and Mr. Wilmot, as well as other recent university decisions.

“Our overall concern is that these recent changes demonstrate a concerning pattern of failure on the part of the current administration to respect that faithful and active Christians reasonably hold a range of theological and ethical views,” the letter said.

Earlier this month, the university president, Wayne D. Lewis Jr., replied to the alumni letter. He said many of the decisions it mentioned, including the closure of the multicultural center and the sustainability program, had been budgetary moves meant to combat financial challenges brought about by “many years of enrollment and revenue decline and a significant structural budget deficit.”

And while he did not address the firing of Ms. Zelaya and Mr. Wilmot, he did reaffirm the university’s commitment to the teachings of the Wesleyan Church.

“Houghton unapologetically privileges an orthodox Christian worldview, rooted in the Wesleyan theological tradition,” the president wrote. He also noted that university employees were required to reaffirm their “understanding of and agreement to these commitments” at the start of each year.

Molly Connolly, 21, a sophomore and student council member who aspires to become a Wesleyan minister, said the administration’s decisions had caused “a lot of frustration” for students, who she said hold a wide range of political and religious beliefs. She helped organize a prayer vigil and a sit-in where students could voice their concerns, she said.

“People felt it was political and did not align with some people’s interpretation of what it means to be Christlike,” Ms. Connolly said. “This just highlighted how divided people are about politics and identity politics and how people understand gender and sexuality.”

Derek Schwabe, 33, a gay man who graduated from Houghton in 2012, said the campus “was never an affirming place” during his time there. He did not come out until after graduation, and said gay students mostly felt like “if you kept your head down you could survive.”

Nevertheless, Mr. Schwabe thought the administration at the time had taken a more neutral approach toward L.G.B.T.Q. issues, for example by allowing on-campus debates and other activities. For students from conservative families, like himself, those events could be revelatory.

“At the Houghton I knew, there was room for discussion and allowing differences of opinion,” Mr. Schwabe said. “I was exposed to broader viewpoints on these issues than I had been exposed to before. I am sad to see even that level of openness has been curtailed.”

In interviews, Ms. Zelaya and Mr. Wilmot said they believed their dispute with the school boiled down to a difference of opinion over how best to live a Christian life.

They included their pronouns because they wanted to engage with society’s downtrodden as Jesus Christ might have done, they said.

“At the end of the day, it has no bearing on what I actually believe or what I think is a sin or not a sin,” Ms. Zelaya, 27, said. “It all comes down to: Am I loving people in a way that reflects Christ?”

She said she thought their firings were instead motivated by the university’s decision to “toe the party line” and appeal to the conservative political beliefs that dominate the evangelical Christian world.

“We live in a very divided world right now where everything is this or that, right or left, conservative or liberal, Republican or Democrat,” Ms. Zelaya added. “As Christians, I think we’ve gotten so caught up in these ideas of, ‘This is what I should be advocating for or upset about,’ that we forget to actually care for people.”

Corrections

BUSINESS

An article on Friday about Disney’s decision to cancel an office complex project in Orlando, Fla., misstated the name of a luxury hotel that Disney plans to shutter. It is the Galactic Starcruiser, not the Galactic Starship.

SPORTS

An article on Friday about what to expect from the W.N.B.A. 2023 season misstated Courtney Vandersloot’s assist ranking. She is the W.N.B.A.’s active assists leader, not the career leader.

WEEKEND ARTS

An article on Friday about the Frieze New York art fair misspelled the name of a gallery based in Buenos Aires and New York. It is Barro, not Basso.

ARTS & LEISURE

An article on Page 14 this weekend about the rapper Killer Mike misspells the name of Killer Mike’s wife. She is Shana Render, not Shayna.

MAGAZINE

An article on Page 28 this weekend about the effectiveness of therapy misstates the given name of a statistician and researcher. He is Gene V. Glass, not Eugene. The article also misstates the name of a program associated with Ohio University. It is the Psychotherapy & Interpersonal Process Lab, not the Psychology & Interpersonal Lab.

Errors are corrected during the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.

Contact the Newsroom

To contact the newsroom regarding correction requests, please email corrections@nytimes.com.

More National news appears on Page A24.

Jim Brown, Football Great and Civil Rights Activist, Dies at 87

From Page A1

of 1966 by retiring to pursue an acting career.

He had appeared in the 1964 western "Rio Conchos" and was involved in the shooting of the World War II film "The Dirty Dozen" in England, with plans to attend the Browns' training camp afterward. But wet weather delayed completion of the filming. When he notified Art Modell, the Browns' owner, that he would be reporting late, Modell said he would fine him for every day he missed camp. Affronted by the threat, Brown called a news conference to announce that he was done with pro football.

When the modern civil rights movement gained momentum in the 1950s, few elite athletes spoke out on racial issues. But Brown had no hesitation.

Working to promote economic development in Cleveland's Black neighborhoods while playing for the Browns, he founded the Negro Industrial and Economic Union (later known as the Black Economic Union) as a vehicle to create jobs. It facilitated loans to Black businessmen in poor areas — what he called Green Power — reflecting his long-held belief that economic self-sufficiency held more promise than mass protests.

In June 1967, Brown invited other leading Black athletes, most notably Bill Russell and Lew Alcindor (the future Kareem Abdul-Jabbar), to the office of his Economic Union to hear Muhammad Ali after Ali had been stripped of his heavyweight boxing title and faced imprisonment for refusing to be drafted in protest over the Vietnam War.

In what came to be called the Ali Summit, viewed as a watershed for the development of racial awareness among athletes, Brown and the others at the session publicly voiced their support for Ali.

By the early 1970s, Brown's Economic Union had largely faded. But in the late 1980s he founded the Amer-I-Can Foundation to teach basic life skills to gang members and prisoners, mainly in California, and steer them away from violence. The foundation expanded nationally and remains active.

Handsome with a magnificent physique — he was a chiseled 6 feet 2 inches and 230 pounds — Brown appeared in many movies and was sometimes cited as a Black Superman for his cinematic adventures.

"Although the range of emotion Brown displayed onscreen was no wider than a mail slot, he never embarrassed himself, never played to a demeaning stereotype of the comic patsy," James Wolcott wrote in The New York Review of Books in his review of Dave Zirin's 2018 biography, "Jim Brown: Last Man Standing." He called Brown "a rugged chassis for a more self-assertive figure, the Black uberman."

One of Brown's best-remembered roles was in "The Dirty Dozen" (1967), in which he played one of 12 convicts assembled by the Army for a near-suicide mission to kill high-ranking German officers at a French chateau in advance of the D-Day invasion of Normandy. He next played a Marine captain in the Cold War thriller "Ice Station Zebra" (1968).

In 1969, his character was shown having sex with Raquel Welch's character in the western "100 Rifles," the first major Hollywood film depicting a Black man making love to a white woman.

Brown was "becoming a Black John Wayne; or maybe John Wayne with just a hint of Malcolm X thrown in," Gloria Steinem wrote in New York magazine in 1968. She quoted him as saying: "I don't want to play Negro parts. Just cool, tough modern men who are also Negroes. And not good guys all the time."

But Brown had a problematic personal life.

He was arrested more than a half-dozen times, in most cases when women accused him of violent behavior, at a time when prominent men like athletes, actors and political figures were generally not held accountable for purported transgressions against women.

Brown was never convicted of a major crime. In some instances the accusers refused to testify, and in others he was exonerated by juries.

The first accusation against Brown was lodged in 1965, when an 18-year-old woman testified that he had assaulted her at a Cleveland motel. Brown denied the allegation and was found not guilty in a jury trial. A year later, the woman filed a civil paternity suit claiming that Brown had fathered her baby daughter. The jury found in his favor.

In June 1968, the police, arriving at Brown's Hollywood home after a neighbor phoned to report a disturbance, found his 22-year-old girlfriend, Eva Bohn-Chin, a model, lying bloodied and badly injured on his patio. They suspected that Brown had thrown her off his second-story balcony. He said she had fallen. Ms. Bohn-Chin refused to testify, which resulted in the dismissal of an assault charge. Brown paid a $300 fine for interfering with a police officer who had been seeking entrance to his home.

Brown's wife, Sue Brown, with whom he had three children, obtained a divorce in 1972.

When Spike Lee released his documentary "Jim Brown: All American" in 2002, Brown was in jail in the Los Angeles area, having lost an appeal over a misdemeanor vandalism conviction in 1999. Brown's wife at that time, Monique Brown, had called the police to report that he smashed the windows of her car with a shovel after an argument.

Brown had been offered community service and anger management counseling, but he refused to accept that and was jailed for nearly four months. But the marriage endured.

"I can definitely get angry, and I have taken that anger out inappropriately in the past," Brown told Sports Illustrated in an interview at the jail. "But I have done so with both men and women."

In 1978, Brown was sentenced to a day in jail and fined $500 for beating and choking a male friend during their golf match in Inglewood, Calif., evidently after an argument over the spot where his friend had placed his ball on the ninth green.

"So do I have a problem with women?" Brown added in the interview. "No. I have had anger, and I'll probably continue to have anger. I just have to not strike out at anyone ever again."

Brown maintained over the years that he been victimized because of his race or his celebrity status. In an interview with Judy Klemesrud of The New York Times in April 1969, in which he spoke about the balcony incident, he said, "The cops were after me because I'm free and Black and I'm supposed to be arrogant and supposed to be militant and I swing free and loose and have been outspoken on racial matters and I don't preach against Black militant groups and I'm not humble."

The Cleveland Browns fullback Jim Brown carrying the ball against the Giants at Yankee Stadium in 1960. He was inducted into the Hall of Fame in 1971.

VIA GETTY IMAGES

Rural Beginnings

James Nathaniel Brown was born on Feb. 17, 1936, on St. Simons Island, off the Georgia coast, a rural area where the Black populace lived off the land. When he was a few weeks old, his father, Swinton Brown, who had a reputation as a gambler and womanizer, abandoned him and Jim's teenage mother, Theresa Brown. When he was 2, she took a job as a domestic in Great Neck, N.Y., on Long Island, an overwhelmingly white but politically liberal community, leaving him in Georgia in the care of a great-grandmother, a grandmother and an aunt.

She sent for him when he was 8, and they lived together for a while, she continued to work as a housekeeper. By his account he felt that she was more interested in her boyfriends than in attending to his needs; he eventually moved in with the family of his girlfriend in nearby Manhasset.

At Manhasset High School, he became a brilliant running back and lacrosse player, and also competed in basketball and baseball and ran track.

The second Black player in the history of Syracuse football, Brown became an all-American in football and lacrosse. In his final regular-season football game, a 61-7 victory over Colgate, he scored six touchdowns, kicked seven extra points and ran for 197 yards. Syracuse went to the 1957 Cotton Bowl, where Brown scored three touchdowns and kicked three extra points in a 28-27 loss to Texas Christian.

Cleveland selected Brown as the No. 6 pick of the 1957 N.F.L. draft. He won the first of his three Most Valuable Player Awards, as selected by The Associated Press, when he ran for a league-leading 942 yards as a rookie.

After the 1962 season, Brown led a group of players who complained to Modell, the team owner, that Paul Brown, the franchise's founder and head coach, was too rigid in continuing with conservative offensive schemes that were being bypassed by other N.F.L. teams using wide-open offenses.

Blanton Collier was named coach in 1963, and Brown had his greatest season, running for an N.F.L. record 1,863 yards.

AN N.F.L. GREAT

An all-American at Syracuse University in football and lacrosse, Jim Brown never missed a game in the N.F.L. He retired at age 30 to pursue an acting career.

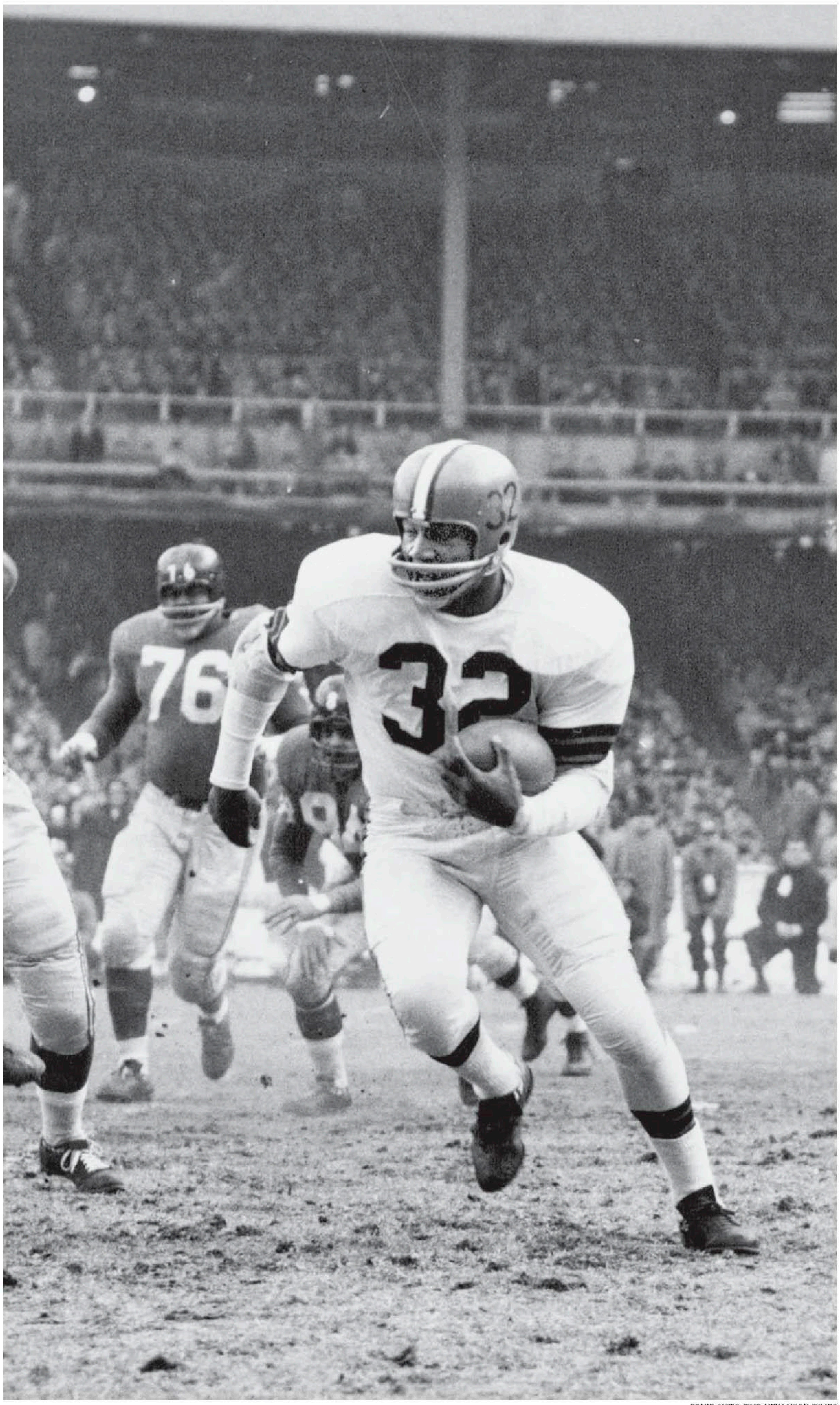
Seasons	9 (1957-1965)
Team	Cleveland Browns
Position	Fullback
Games	118
Rushing attempts	2,359
Rushing yards	12,312
Touchdowns	106
Rushing yards per game	104.3
Pro Bowls	9
N.F.L. championships	1 (1964)

Source: Pro Football Reference

The Browns defeated the Baltimore Colts for the N.F.L. championship in 1964. Brown won his third M.V.P. award in 1965, when the Browns again played for the league championship, this time losing to the Green Bay Packers.

Brown led the N.F.L. in rushing in eight of his nine seasons. He also set N.F.L. records for career yardage (12,312), total touchdowns (126), touchdowns by running (106), and average yards rushing per game (104) and per carry (5.22). He ran for more than 1,000 yards seven times when teams played only 12 and then 14 games a season (they now play 17), and at a time when the rule book favored the passing game over running plays. He caught 20 touchdown passes, and he returned kickoffs.

Brown credited his offensive linemen with springing him into the secondary, and then, as he told Alex Haley in a 1968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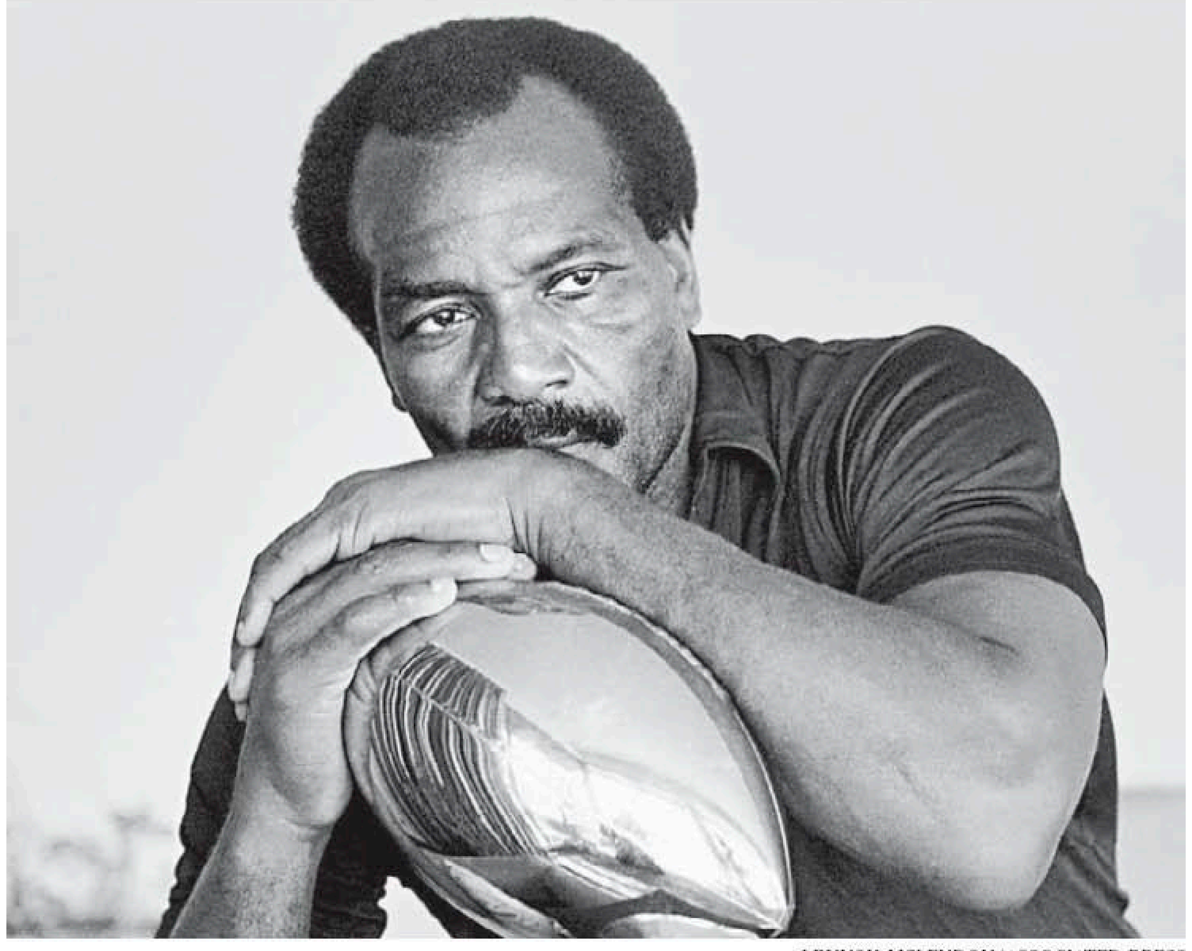

LENNOX MCLENDON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Jim Brown at home in 1984. He was the outstanding player of his generation, and was chosen as the N.F.L.'s most valuable player three times.

ON PRO FOOTBALL

Revered for Dominance And His Willingness To Just Walk Away

By KEN BELSON
and JENNY VRENTAS

A few days before Super Bowl X in 1976, some of the N.F.L.'s biggest stars mingled at a private party at a nightclub in Miami. Chuck Foreman, then a fearsome running back with the Minnesota Vikings, remembered rubbing shoulders with some of the biggest stars of the time at the position, including Walter Payton and O.J. Simpson.

Then he sat down with Jim Brown, the greatest running back of them all, who had left the Cleveland Browns a decade before. Foreman, who rolled over linebackers and cornerbacks for a living, recalled that he was intimidated. He grew up idolizing Brown not just for his prowess on the field, but for his willingness to fight for civil rights and to walk away from the game at the peak of his powers.

"When I was growing up, there was Jim Brown, Jim Brown and Jim Brown," said Foreman, now 72. "He was bigger than most linemen and faster than most wide receivers. But he also left on his own terms, especially back in those days, being an outspoken Black man."

Foreman, like many others, called him Mr. Brown. But as they talked, the younger running back's fears dissolved. Brown complimented Foreman's style of play and his success with the Vikings. Then he gave Foreman some advice that has stuck ever since.

"'Know when to go down,'" Foreman said Brown told him. "'Don't jeopardize your career over two inches.'"

Brown, Foreman said, wasn't just telling him to run smart, he was telling him to think about his future and not sacrifice his body needlessly.

Though he didn't say it, Brown, who died on Friday at 87, could have also been talking about life outside of football. In a game with a 100 percent injury rate, few N.F.L. players leave because they want to. Most wind up with injuries that never heal and are ushered out of the game once their utility to coaches is gone. Those who retire when they want to often do so because teams are not interested anymore.

Brown was the opposite. He left the N.F.L. after the 1965 season, his ninth in the league and one of his best. He ran for 1,544 yards and 17 rushing touchdowns, and caught 34 passes, four of them for scores. He was voted the league's Most Valuable Player for the first time since his second season.

His rushing records — most notably his 12,312 yards on the ground — were eventually broken by Payton, Barry Sanders, Emmitt Smith and others. But Brown's career lasted just nine years and he played in the era of 14-game seasons, not 16 or 17, and when chop blocks and other dangerous tackles were allowed. His 104.3 rushing yards per game average still stands as a league record.

Then he walked away, opting to pursue a Hollywood career making movies and more money than in Cleveland. His breaking point came when he was filming "The Dirty Dozen." Brown told Art Modell, the team's owner, that he would be late to training camp. Modell said he would fine Brown for every day he missed camp. Offended, Brown called a news conference to announce that he was leaving the N.F.L.

By that point, Brown had accomplished more in football than many do in much longer careers, including winning a league title in 1964, three M.V.P. awards, and owning the N.F.L.'s career rushing record. But only a handful went out on top. John Elway and Peyton Manning won Super Bowls in their last seasons, but both were no longer in their prime. Sanders retired from the Detroit Lions when he was just 30, but won just one playoff game.

Brown, on the other hand, was a kind of Mount Rushmore figure, a running back of stature who helped redefine the power an athlete could have on and off the field by demanding that owners and coaches treat players — particularly Black players — with respect.

"You can make a case that Wilt Chamberlain was his own man in basketball, but Jim Brown would have been the first pro football player in the modern era to have that kind of presence and sway," said Michael MacCambridge, the author of "America's Game: The Epic Story of How Pro Football Captured a Nation." "It was clear that Jim Brown was a different generation of player with a different mind-set."

Players who came after him knew about that difference.

"There isn't a man who played running back in the NFL who didn't see Jim Brown as an iconic legend on and off the field," Tony Dorsett, one of 10 running backs to surpass Brown's total rushing yards, wrote on Twitter.

"You can't underestimate the impact #JimBrown had on the @NFL," Sanders also wrote on Twitter.

As exceptional as he was on the field, Brown was far from a perfect human being. He was arrested more than a half-dozen times, including for multiple accusations of violence against women. He was never convicted of a major crime.

BARTON SILVERMAN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Brown in 2013, when Manhasset High School honored him. He struggled at times off the field, including accusations of violence against women.

A man who redefined the power an athlete could have on and off the field.

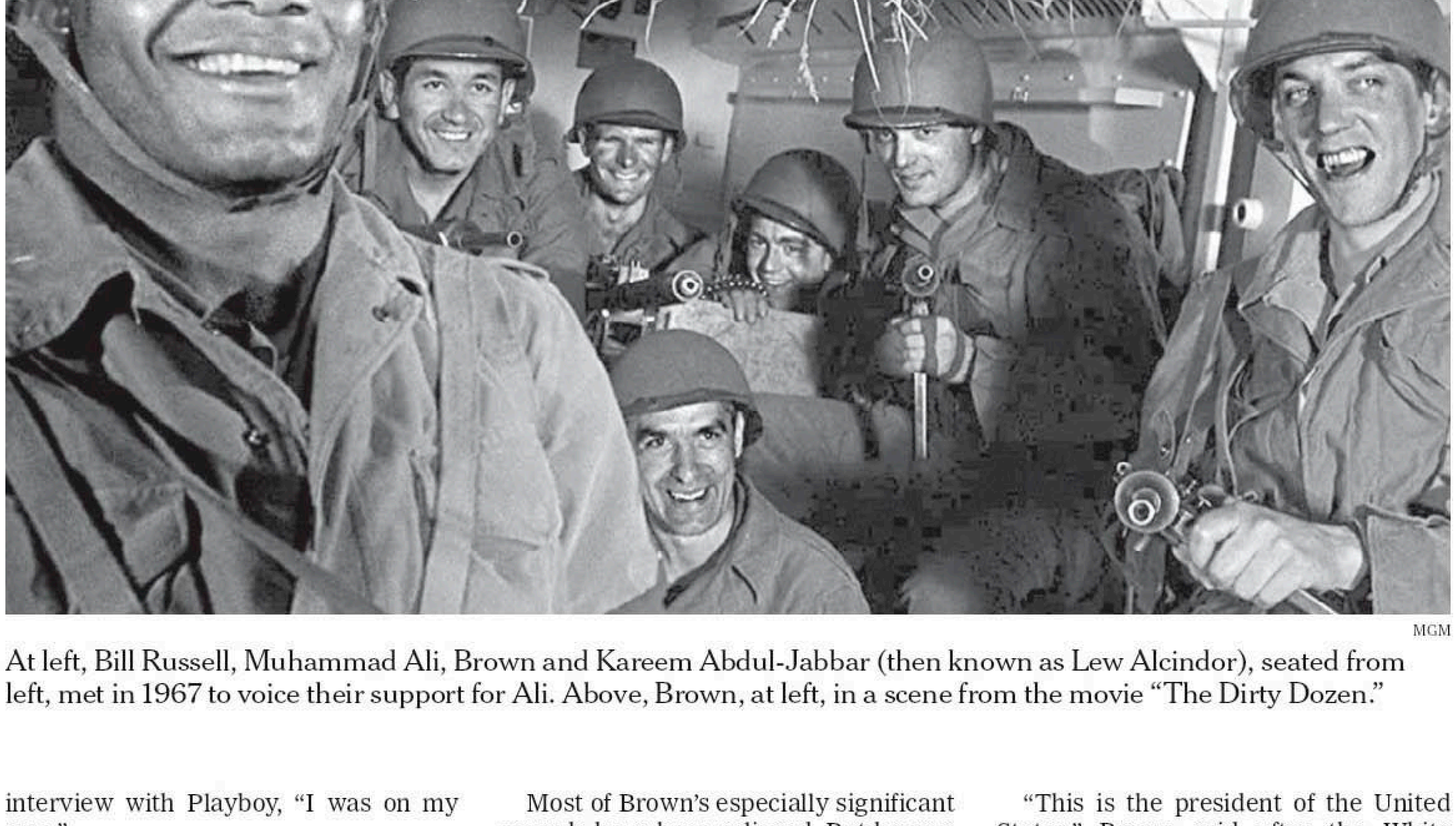
But when it came to the sport that made him famous, Brown had few equals. Ernie Accorsi, the Browns general manager from 1985 to 1992, was in high school when he saw Brown play in person against the Baltimore Colts in 1959. Brown ran for five touchdowns and 178 yards to beat the defending champions and, to Accorsi, it felt like watching Babe Ruth in his prime.

Years later, Accorsi worked in the Colts's front office alongside Dick Szymanski, who had been Baltimore's middle linebacker in that game in 1959. Szymanski told Accorsi that Weeb Ewbank, the Colts's head coach at the time, had advised that Brown was tipping his plays: When Brown lined up with his right hand in the dirt, he was running right, and vice versa.

Brown still ran all over Szymanski, and in the locker room after the game, Ewbank told Szymanski that he hated to think what Brown's rushing totals would have been if he hadn't given Szymanski the tips.

"Coach, I knew exactly where he was going, but I couldn't catch him or tackle him," Szymanski replied.

In Brown's illustrious career, few could.


MGM

At left, Bill Russell, Muhammad Ali, Brown and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar (then known as Lew Alcindor), seated from left, met in 1967 to voice their support for Ali. Above, Brown, at left, in a scene from the movie "The Dirty Dozen."

interview with Playboy, "I was on my own."

"Then I had a man-to-man situation going me against them; that's when I'd go into my bag of stuff," he said. "They're in trouble now; I'm in their territory; 55 things are happening at once; I'm moving, evaluating their possible moves, trying to outthink and outmaneuver them, using my speed, quickness and balance."

"But sometimes it got down to out-and-out strength and brute force," Brown said. "Some guys, if they were small enough, I'd just run over them."

Brown seemed perpetually battered, getting up slowly after running plays, but he said that was a psychological tactic. As he put it in his 1989 memoir "Out of Bounds," written with Steve Delsohn, "By getting up with leisure every play, every game, every season, they never knew if I was hurt or if I wasn't."

Most of Brown's especially significant records have been eclipsed. But he was accorded tributes long after his football career ended.

In 1994, he was named to the N.F.L.'s 75th anniversary all-time team. In 2015, Syracuse University unveiled statues of Brown and the star running backs who succeeded him, Ernie Davis and Floyd Little, all of whom wore No. 44, on a patio called Plaza 44. The second Browns franchise dedicated a statue of Brown outside its FirstEnergy Stadium in 2016.

Seeking support for his Amer-I-Can Foundation's efforts to curb gang violence, Brown and the former star N.F.L. linebacker Ray Lewis met with president-elect Donald J. Trump at his Trump Tower office in Manhattan in December 2016. Brown and the musician Kanye West had lunch with Mr. Trump at the White House in October 2018.

"This is the president of the United States," Brown said after the White House meeting. "He allowed me to be invited to his territory, he treated us beautifully, and he shared some thoughts, and he will be open to talking when I get back to him."

He married Monique Gunthrop in 1997, and she survives him. Brown is also survived by their son, Aris, and their daughter, Morgan; a daughter, Kim, and a son, Kevin, who were twins, and another son, James Jr., from his marriage to Sue (Jones) Brown.

At least one defensive player looked at the bright side in describing an encounter with Brown. Remembering the first time he faced him, the Dallas Cowboys' Pro Bowl linebacker Chuck Howley told Life magazine: "I had one of my best days. I made almost as much yardage as he did — riding on his back."

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Opinion

The New York Times

A New Mother, an Old Mother, a Love Story

Rachel Louise Snyder

A professor at American University and the author of the forthcoming memoir "Women We Buried, Women We Burned."

I WAS 8 when my mother died. She died at 35 of breast cancer, though it would be years before I knew that.

Over time, I developed the belief that because she was dead, certain knowledge eluded me. If I had a mother, I'd think, I'd know how to walk in heels and sit like a girl. I'd know what to carry in a purse or how to operate a curling iron. I'd probably know the difference between shampoo and conditioner, and I'd certainly know that breastfeeding mothers offered only milk, not milk through one breast, orange juice through the other. These were small things, but later, I'd want to know what to say to boys, the specific mechanics of sex and how to alleviate cramps. I felt sure that girls with mothers knew everything.

My father remarried two years after my mom died, so in a way I recouped a mother. But I did not see her as a mother figure. I did not see her as anyone other than the person my father married. We fought, all of us, my father, my stepmother, my two stepsiblings. We fought in words and sometimes with our fists. And the fighting finally got to be too much because one day, in 1985, my stepmother and father lined up suitcases in our foyer and told us kids to leave because we could not live by God's rules and therefore, we could not live in their house. My brother, David, was nearly 18. My stepsiblings were 20 and 17. I was 16.

And then I was off, and in the world, living at first out of my car, and then on friends' couches, and then finally, once I was old enough to sign a lease, in apartments of my own. I worked low-wage jobs, got my G.E.D., went to college and eventually traveled. My stepmother was neither in nor out of my life. I didn't go out of my way to ignore her, but I also did not seek her or my father out. My parents were evangelical. I was a nonbeliever. Though that word suggests a lack of belief, the truth is, I hold many beliefs — just not the same ones they held.

My travels eventually took me to live in Cambodia. Many Khmer people believe that there is a world of spirits who live parallel to our human world. Spirits can inhabit the tops of tall trees, make trouble in the life of the living, inhabit the bodies of dogs. The spirits are not those of spooky monsters and creaky homes. They are often ancestors to which we the living must pay homage, to remember them and give them offerings so that they don't suffer in their next life.

As an American, I rejected such beliefs. As the years went by, though, I began to hear more stories of ghosts, not just from Cambodians but also from expat friends. There was the ghost who'd shake my friend Wynne awake in the night and not stop until Wynne said soothing things out loud: "You'll be OK. I mean you no harm." There was the State Department friend who woke in a hotel room one night to see a man walk across the floor and disappear. In the morning, her husband told her he'd seen him, too.

And then one afternoon, 30 years after my mother's death, her spirit came to me in my Phnom Penh apartment. It was monsoon season, the light in my living room a mustardy yellow, and I was alone. What do you say when the person you love most in the world returns? I told my mom how much of my life she'd missed. I told her of relatives who'd died. I spoke aloud, into the humid air.

VANESSA SABA

And then I knew there was only one question I truly had for her. "I wish you were here," I said, "to help me decide if I should have a child."

Hearing her answer, I felt a kind of tremor in my body, some long-held artifice beginning to crumble. It was what friends with living mothers had told me for years: that there are no real guidelines, that the answers must come from inside us. It seems so obvious now, and yet to hear her say it was to disengage from a belief about my own deficits that had guided so much of my life. I had been holding on to an idea that said I was ignorant and would always be ignorant about myself, that I had lost my chance to live as a woman shaped by intention rather than loss.

This is what my mother said: *Even if I were, I couldn't help you with that decision.*

I gave birth to my daughter two years later, at a hospital in Bangkok. We returned to America when she was a toddler. And upon our return, I decided that my daughter would know her grandparents. My dad and stepmother and I had fought and caused each other so much pain over the years, but I did not think it fair to let my daughter inherit these fights. She could choose to love her grandparents or not, but the choice would be hers.

So we visited annually. My father would take my daughter to the Walmart Supercenter to wander the aisles, and then they would have ice cream.

My stepmother's cancer came in 2015. Colorectal. My dad called me and said, "We could use some help." I went as soon as I could. I was cooking mushroom soup for them to freeze when they came to my brother's house, where I was staying. My stepmother had tubes coming from so many different places that I couldn't track them all, but I heard them gently slap against each other. She carried her own pillow. She ran her hand through her hair, then looked in her palm and her face crumpled.

"Your mother was so brave, Rachel," she whispered.

I had never heard her speak of my mother. It immediately felt sacred, women whispering to each other from other universes, other realms, other lives.

I asked her what cancer felt like in her body. It was an audacious question from someone who had maybe not earned the right to such intimacies. But she didn't look surprised or refuse to answer. Instead, she began to talk. She told me that it wasn't her body anymore, that even if she somehow miraculously recovered, it would never be her body again, not the body she had once known. She talked more to me that first night than in many previous years combined.

We travel with our ghosts. Who better to lead us to what comes next?

We talked regularly after that, several times a week. I'd fly out with or without my daughter. I saw her month after month as the cancer claimed more of her. Her body was a sapling, her knees like floodlights. She weighed 95.6 pounds.

My father and I ran errands one day, and I said to him, "No one talked about Mom," meaning my real mother. "I didn't know she died of cancer for years."

"You didn't? But all those trips in and out of the hospital. All that chemo."

"I knew she was sick. I only ever thought she'd be sick. I didn't know she could die."

I understood then what my stepmother had known all along: that she was allowing me to ask all the questions I could never ask my real mother. She'd said once, "I'm so sorry you're going through this again." I felt a gratitude for this Möbius strip of mothers, how one led me to the other, and that other led me right back.

I asked my stepmother, "Are you afraid?" She had just returned home from yet another hospital visit.

"I was afraid," she told me. But then a chaplain came and talked to her and my father, and finally, she told my father: no more. She told him he could still hope, and she would hope, too, for a miracle. But in the meantime, she said she felt ready and she needed him to be with her. She said her angel had been in her room all week; she could see him as clearly as she could see me now. I thought of how in Cambodia death is just the end of a cycle, making space to start all over again.

I helped her to the toilet and she pointed to her C-section scars, all four of them. Then she asked if I had one. I unbuttoned my jeans, pulled them down slightly. "They've gotten better, haven't they?" she said. This is where we meet, women and our bodies. I told her the story of my daughter's birth in Bangkok and she said, "I like that story, ." I sank down to my knees on the floor, laid my head on her hospital bed beside her hip. She put her hand on me.

Then she said, "Can I talk to you about the Lord? I just have to because he's my life."

I nodded.

Jesus was on her right side at that moment and her guardian angel was on her left. She could see them. They didn't talk, except once to say that everything would be all right. She just wanted me to know she could see them, her angel and her Jesus, that they had come to help her on her journey to wherever and whatever came next.

I nodded, listening. I believed her. Of course I did. We travel with our ghosts. Who better to lead us to what comes next? Our next life, our heaven, the birth of a daughter, a new mother, an old one.

I understood then. She wasn't telling me a story of Christianity or faith or spirituality. She wasn't even telling me a story about God. She was just telling me a love story. And I was part of it.

Remembering 2 Things Will Prepare You for Every Challenge Ahead

Margaret Renkl

A contributing Opinion writer and the author of the books "Graceland, at Last" and "Late Migrations." This essay is adapted from an address delivered last week at the University of the South.

SEWANEE, TENN.

THIRTY-NINE years ago, my college commencement was held in an un-air-conditioned gymnasium on the hottest day Alabama could serve up. I tried to talk my family into letting me skip the ceremony, but my grandmother, a retired schoolteacher, put her foot down. "We're going," she said. So we went. All I remember of the whole day is trying not to perish in the hallucinogenic heat.

My grandmother began her career in a two-room country schoolhouse. She was still teaching 40 years later when Alabama public schools were finally integrated. What my grandmother knew, and I did not, is that it's right to celebrate a hard-won achievement. It's right to drink in the pride of family and friends. It's always right to give yourself over to joy every single time joy is on offer.

It is also right in this liminal moment, this time of looking both before and beyond, to ponder what it all means. What did the years of study and camaraderie really add up to? What new challenges will you be obliged to face in the years to come?

I can't tell you what it all meant, but I think I understand some of the difficulties that lie ahead.

You are children of the 21st century, and yours is the first generation to recognize the inescapable urgency of climate change, the first not to deny the undeniable loss of biodiversity. You have grown up in an age permeated by the noise of a 24-hour news cycle, by needless political polarization, by devastating gun violence, by the isolating effects of "social" media. You have seen hard-won civil rights rolled back. You have come of age at a time of existential threat — to the planet, to democracy, to the arc of the moral universe itself — and none of it is your fault.

I wouldn't blame you if you're wondering how somebody of my generation, which wrecked so much that is precious, could dare to offer you advice. My only response is that age has exactly one advantage over the energy and brilliance of youth: Age teaches a person how to survive despair.

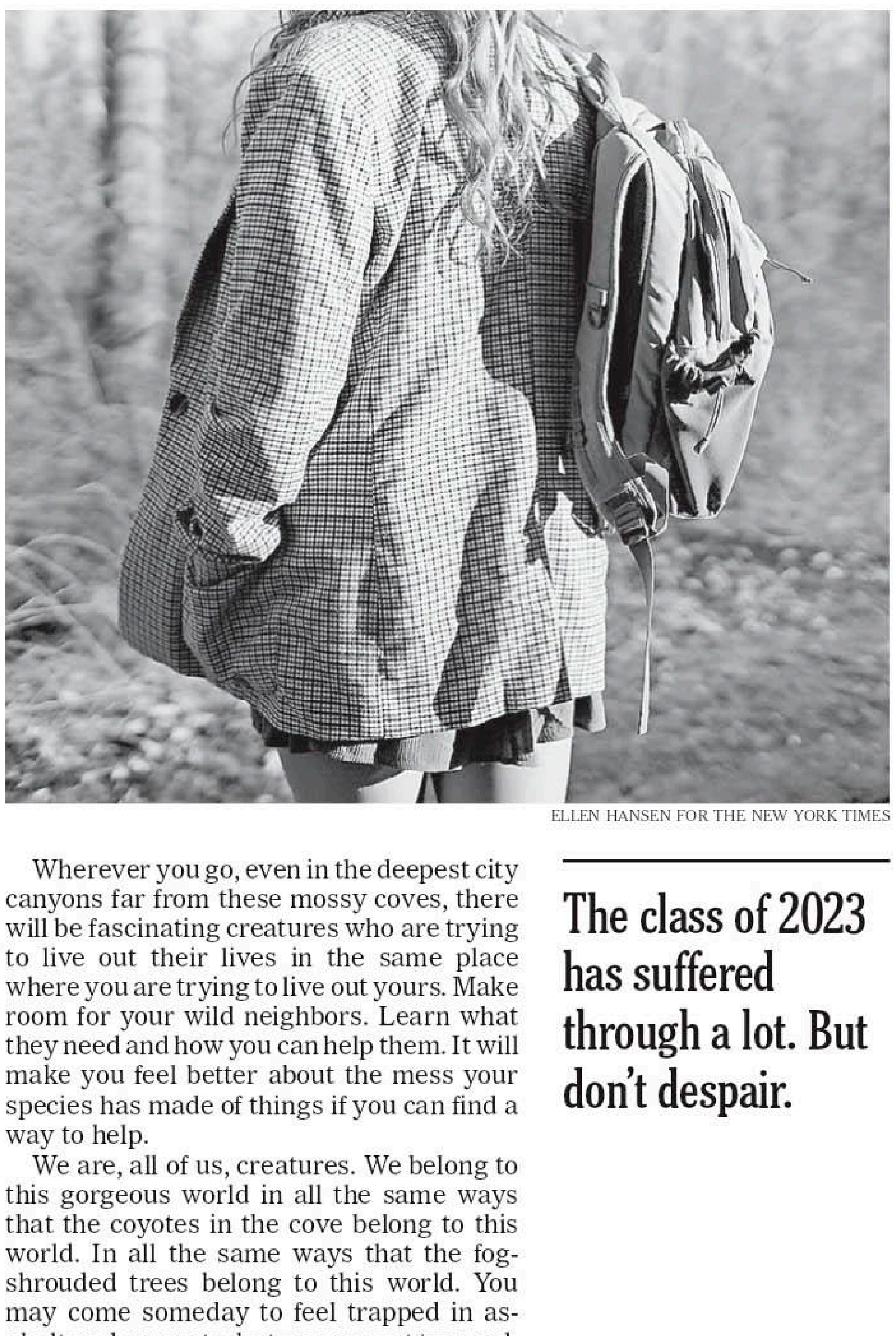
The years have shown me that hardship is only one part of life, and not remotely the largest part. Hardship always lives side by side with happiness. Pain always finds its fullest partner in joy. Love takes many forms, some of them surprising, and people are almost always kinder than we expect. The world is beautiful. And most people are good.

When you're in a waiting room and an angry commentator on the corner television is telling you that the world is full of awful people who are trying to hurt you or take away what's rightfully yours, think about all the good people you know. Remember how very many good people you know and how many times a perfect stranger has been good to you in tiny ways — offering to push your cart back to the store, waving you ahead in traffic, sharing an eye-roll at the gate when yet another flight delay is announced.

When you find yourself deeply doubting the goodness of the human race, ask yourself these questions: Who is profiting from your sadness and your anger? Who is getting rich by making you afraid? Someone is.

Not counting uncooperative politicians and partisan media figures, most people are sincerely trying their best to get along. If you talk to them, they will listen. If you listen, they will talk to you. Most people are good. Remind yourself that most people are good.

As you enter the world, remember, too, how beautiful this place is. Remember the gentle fog. Remember the rocky bluffs and the immense diversity of trees. Remember the green coves and the green ponds and the birds that migrate by the hundreds of thousands through the night sky above your dorms. Remember the gentle deer picking their way through the fog on their impossibly delicate hooves. Remember the cry of the broad-winged hawk teaching her fledglings to hunt.



ELLEN HANSEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Wherever you go, even in the deepest city canyons far from these mossy coves, there will be fascinating creatures who are trying to live out their lives in the same place where you are trying to live out yours. Make room for your wild neighbors. Learn what they need and how you can help them. It will make you feel better about the mess your species has made of things if you can find a way to help.

We are, all of us, creatures. We belong to this gorgeous world in all the same ways that the coyotes in the cove belong to this world. In all the same ways that the fog-shrouded trees belong to this world. You may come someday to feel trapped in asphalt and concrete, but you are not trapped. When you are restless or lonely or afraid, go for a walk in the park or a hike in the woods. Plant a little garden, if only in pots on the sidewalk. Being in the wild world will make you feel better. Get your hands dirty. I promise you will feel better.

The class of 2023 has suffered through a lot. But don't despair.

And merely by falling in love with the world, you will begin to make it better. Human beings will work to their dying breath to save something they love. Fall in love with the wild world, and you are taking the first step toward saving it.

The world is beautiful. People are good.

Days will come when even those simple truths will be hard to remember. When the self-doubts creep in and the worries descend, think of the frogs singing in the springtime ponds or the hawks crying in the sky. Think of the classmate who lent you her textbook or the stranger who took the time to call a tow truck when your phone was dead.

The world is beautiful. People are good.

If you can remember those two things, you will find your way to understanding that nothing ever came of despair, that change happened only because good people worked together to make an unfair world better. My grandmother didn't close out her teaching career in an integrated classroom because Alabama politicians suddenly decided to do the right thing. As with every other sweeping change for good, desegregation happened because good people working together with other good people became an unstoppable force for change.

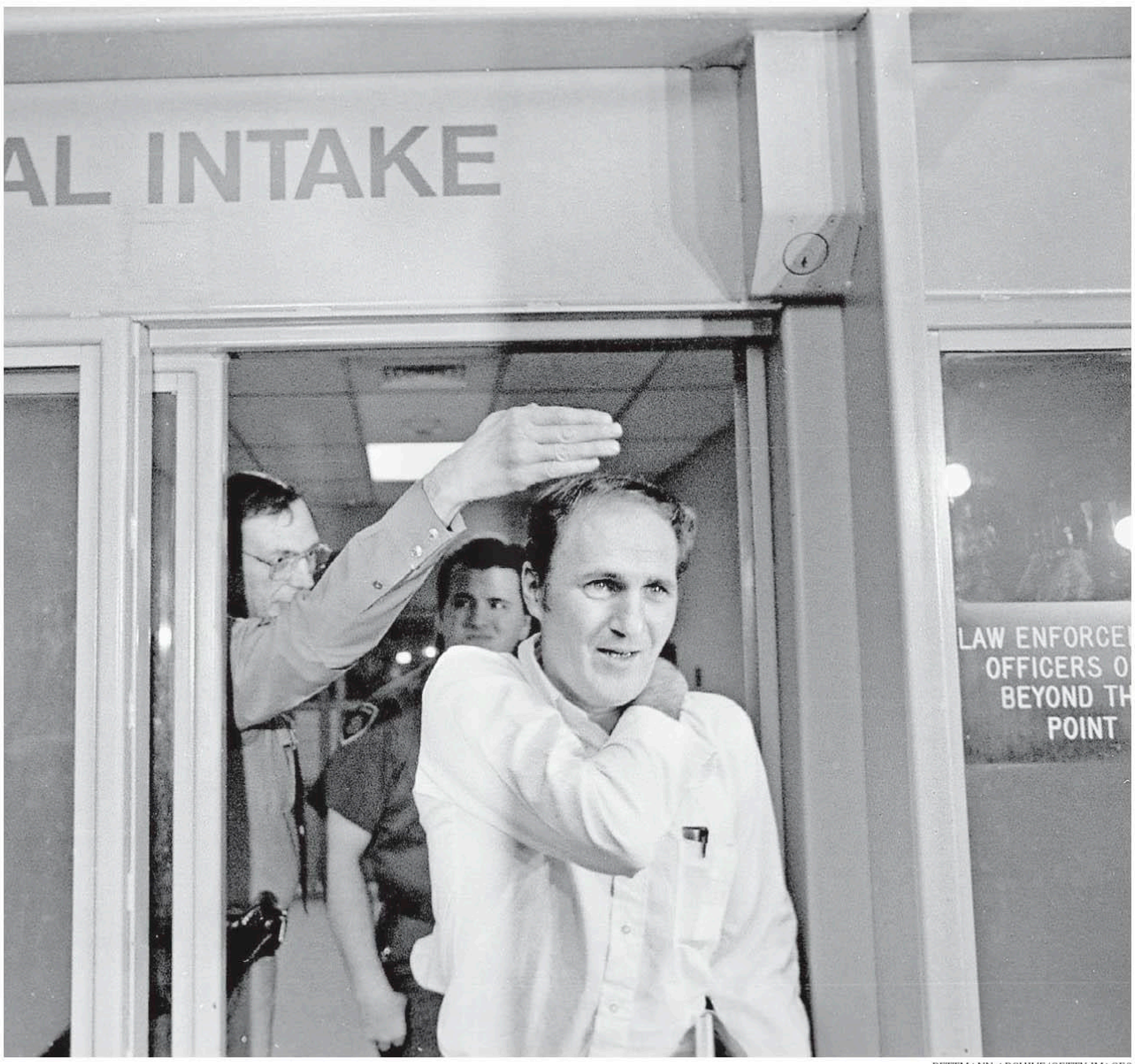
Already your generation — the lockdown generation — is forcing those in power to confront the injustice of gun violence. Already your generation has seen how rapidly the economy can transition to clean energy when technological innovation comes together with political will. You have had a taste of how good people working together can force those in power to do better by fragile human beings and the fragile planet alike.

As you leave for the rest of your life, you will be prepared for whatever challenges may come your way if you remember only two things:

The world is beautiful. People are good.

And remembering that will help you remember how good you are, and how much good you can do, too.

Justice Long Denied, Ensured by Prosecutors



BETTMANN ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Randall Dale Adams leaving a Dallas County jail in 1989 after being imprisoned for 12 years.

Lisa Belkin

A former New York Times reporter and the author of the forthcoming book "Genealogy of a Murder: Four Generations, Three Families, One Fateful Night."

IN MARCH of 1989, I spent two days sitting in a Dallas courthouse among a group of journalists watching justice being blocked.

Randall Dale Adams, who had served 12 years for the murder of a police officer, had been granted a new trial by the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals. This was a year after the filmmaker Errol Morris essentially proved that he was innocent — and that another man, who confessed to the murder on film in Mr. Morris's documentary "The Thin Blue Line," was guilty.

In a damning ruling, the appeals court accepted the findings of a lower court that Dallas County prosecutors had suppressed evidence favorable to Mr. Adams, deceived the court on the whereabouts of a witness and knowingly used perjured testimony. But prosecutors were still disinclined to let Mr. Adams go.

At a bail hearing, they played games for two days with the court, demanding that the sitting judge be removed from the case, requiring a second judge to fly in from Waco, Texas, only for the court to rule that the first judge could in fact stay. Then the district attorney, John Vance, argued for bail that Mr. Adams could not afford nor probably raise.

"I don't think Randall Dale Adams ought to be out on the street," he said of the man his office had railroaded.

Nearly 36 hours after the hearing began, Mr. Adams finally left the building on bail, pending a new trial, after his conviction had been overturned. I have kept a photo of the moment across from my desk for nearly 35 years. Wearing borrowed clothes as he walked to a waiting car, his hands held out in front of him as if still in handcuffs, Mr. Adams was asked by one of the sea of reporters and photographers how it felt to be back in the world.

"I'm not out of Dallas yet," he said, and seemed to walk faster.

I thought of Mr. Adams often as I kept track of the recent news from Tallahassee, Fla., where the lawyer for Leo Schofield, 57, stood before a room packed with spectators at a parole hearing two and a half weeks ago. Many of those spectators vehemently believed him innocent of the 1987 murder of his wife, Michelle.

The thread that connects the two men is the apparent unwillingness of their prosecutors, despite new evidence, to accept even the possibility that the men they convicted were innocent.

Like Mr. Adams, Mr. Schofield had spent much of a lifetime — 35 years in his case — trying to regain his freedom. As in the Adams case, there was new evidence discovered: Fingerprints that were not tested for 17 years turned out to belong to a man who has been convicted of murder, and that man has confessed to the murder of Michelle Schofield. As in the Adams case, it took an outsider to bring Mr. Schofield's case attention, the Pulitzer Prize-winning investigative journalist Gilbert King, whose nine-part podcast, "Bone Valley," has been downloaded more than six million times.

Most of all, as in the Adams case, the district attorney's office, this time in Polk County, Fla., spent years fighting Mr. Schofield's release. At a parole hearing a few years ago, the state was represented by a former prosecutor who appeared to take the case personally.

"We investigated this thing upside down," said Jerry Hill, a retired state attorney, in a "Bone Valley" interview with Mr. King's co-host, Kelsey Decker, minutes after the board denied parole to Mr. Schofield in 2020. "Leo Schofield is a coldblooded murderer. And if I have my way, he'll never get out of prison."

"The past is obdurate. It doesn't want to change," Stephen King wrote in his opus "11/22/63." That could have been describing the scene in either Dallas or Tallahassee. As the central character in "11/22/63," a time traveler, gets closer to preventing the assassination of John Kennedy, the past throws ever larger obstacles in his way. And so it went in the Adams and Schofield cases, as the prosecutors all but physically barred the jailhouse door.

Much has changed in the American judicial system since Randall Dale Adams walked out of that Dallas jail. For some prosecutors, exoneration has become a point of pride — a sign that the prosecutorial machinery is confident enough to review its own work and admit mistakes. Conviction integrity units, also called conviction review units, are particularly robust in some cities, including Detroit and Philadelphia, said Barbara O'Brien, a professor at Michigan State University College of Law. Ms. O'Brien is also editor of the National Registry of Exonerations, which since its founding in 2012 has reported more than 3,000 exonerations that have taken place since 1989, including more than 230 in 2022 alone.

Where prosecutors are not re-evaluating their own convictions, a layer of what Ms. O'Brien calls "professional exonerators" has grown up — groups like the Innocence Project, law school clinics and lawyers working on cases pro bono.

But there are still prosecutors who won't admit they were wrong, even in the face of substantial evidence. There was no expression of regret from the prosecutors who convicted Randall Dale Adams in Dallas. Nor does one seem likely from the Polk County district attorney's office, where any defense of Leo Schofield appears to have been seen by its prosecutors as an attempt to subvert the jury's decision and, by extension, justice.

Some district attorneys see exoneration with pride. Others fight it.

"It happens less, because back awhile you would regularly see where it was a small town and the state attorney could be the cousin of the sheriff, and who they decided was guilty, was guilty," said Herman Lindsey, executive director of Witness to Innocence, which provides assistance to exonerated death row inmates. (Mr. Lindsey himself spent three years on death row before the Florida Supreme Court concluded the evidence was insufficient to sustain his conviction. He is one of 30 Florida death row inmates exonerated since 1972, according to the Death Penalty Information Center.)

But these wrongful convictions still happen, and not every prosecutor is willing to reconsider a conviction. "While yes, there are more prosecutors willing to be proven wrong, there are still those who show an almost Disney-villain level" of not budging, Ms. O'Brien said, adding that "the Schofield case is beyond the pale, one of the worst I have seen."

How to explain this stubborn insistence on guilt despite what others perceive as proof of innocence or, at least, enough evidence to warrant another look?

Ms. O'Brien blames "the fact that we have an adversarial system rather than an inquisitorial one," meaning that the court does not take part in investigating the facts but is rather assumed to be an impartial forum in which the prosecution and the defense present their opposing arguments. It can attract people who "see things as very black and white, there's good guys and bad guys, where the goal is the win rather than the truth," she said.

In other words, it takes absolute certainty to go to work every day and send people to prison for up to a lifetime. And certainty is tricky to surrender. Allowing for the probability that you were wrong once allows for the possibility that you have been wrong often, and opening that door is often unthinkable.

Scott Cupp has seen how prosecutors learn to shut the mental gates against doubt. He was a prosecutor in Florida for 17 years. "I put a lot of folks in prison," he said, adding, "but before I did, I made damn sure I was right." Several times during his tenure, he said, he was presented evidence that he had the wrong person and faced reluctance among some of his prosecutors to drop the charges, "but we ended up doing so — it's called doing your job."

Then Mr. Cupp became a defense lawyer. In fact, he was Mr. Schofield's lawyer off and on until he was offered a position as a judge on the 20th Judicial Circuit Court in Charlotte County, Fla., in 2014. The case haunted him while on the bench, and when he heard Gilbert King speak at an event in Naples, Fla., in 2018, he told the reporter to go read the case transcript because his client was "not just wrongly convicted. He's an innocent man." In March, Mr. Cupp stepped down from his position on the court to defend Mr. Schofield again, full-time and free.

"The system is made up of human beings, and human beings are flawed," he said. "In this case, you add a relatively small town where law enforcement and prosecution is a big fish in a little pond. It's ego pure and simple."

When there is progress in such "small ponds," therefore, it can be incremental. Hints of such an evolution, however glacial, were visible in the room at the latest Schofield parole hearing, Mr. Cupp said. (Parole has been abolished in Florida, one of 16 states to do so, but because that happened after Mr. Schofield was sentenced, he is still entitled to parole.) The room was filled with journalists and sympathetic spectators.

This time, it was Jacob Orr, an assistant state attorney in the 10th Judicial Circuit, who stood to speak; he had not been involved in the original prosecution. "If we thought that Leo Schofield, or any other inmate, was innocent, we would take immediate action to right that injustice," he told The New York Times in January. "However, the state cannot ignore the overwhelming amount of evidence that has proven Leo Schofield guilty."

But at the hearing he appeared to pivot a bit. While his predecessors had called Mr. Schofield names, handed grisly autopsy photos of Michelle Schofield to the panel members and argued Mr. Schofield should not be released because he refused to express remorse, Mr. Orr simply asked that "you treat this inmate the same as any other" in determining whether to grant parole.

And so they did. Longtime prisoners in Florida are routinely required to spend a year or two in a unit designed to prepare them for life in the world, and though the panel denied the request for parole, it did order Mr. Schofield to spend 12 months in a transition program at the Everglades Correctional Institution near Miami. Successful completion of the program is likely to result in his release at his next parole hearing, in one year.

Perhaps then he will be able to live a quiet life, as Mr. Adams did after his release. When Mr. Adams died in 2010, at age 61, he had spent a fifth of his life in prison and had come within three days of being executed for a crime he did not commit.

Mr. Schofield, who has spent two-thirds of his life in prison for a crime another man says he committed, should have been sent to the lifers program "in 2020 when Jerry Hill came and insisted Leo would die in prison instead," Mr. Cupp said. But better now than never, he added.

News reports after the hearing "described it as a negative thing, denied parole, and that's factually correct," Mr. Cupp said. "But there were positive things that came out of it. The state attorney's office clearly signaled that they were backing off."

Finally.

LETTERS

Rational Approaches to Immigration

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "On Immigration, Biden Should Out-Trump Trump," by Thomas L. Friedman (column, May 17):

Three cheers for Mr. Friedman's lucid discussion of the murky topic of immigration. His analysis is consistent with the following propositions, which I consider to be self-evident:

1) We have the right to control who enters our country, and our political leaders have a responsibility to ensure border security.

2) We have a moral responsibility to be as generous as we can in welcoming people from around the world who come to us because of intolerable circumstances where they live.

3) The number of people in such intolerable circumstances vastly exceeds our ability to absorb all of them.

4) Because of this, we need to put limits on the number of needy people we accept into our country.

5) The limits we place should strike a reasonable balance between our self-interest and our compassion for those who are suffering.

JAMES P. ROBINSON, SEATTLE

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Who Gets In? A Guide to America's Chaotic Border Rules" (news article, May 17):

The end of Title 42 and the new asylum restrictions create a second-class status in the U.S.

Although the Biden administration offers a "humanitarian parole" option for asylum seekers from select countries, that is merely permission to work for two years, with no pathway to permanent legal status. Like DACA, it creates indefinite uncertainty.

For decades, American values have been centered around family and community. We must redefine the purpose of our immigration system to strengthen our communities in line with these core principles.

As an immigration attorney and a senior program director at Capital Area Immigrants' Rights (CAIR) Coalition, I've worked with over a thousand immigrants at risk of deportation. Based on our data, for every adult in detention, there are 1.5 children separated from their parents.

Those are horrifying rates of family separation. But there are solutions, such as the Fairness to Freedom Act of 2023, which would establish the universal right to legal representation for those facing deportation.

Lawyers are not the complete answer. Lawmakers must legislate fairness and family unity in our globalized world.

KELLY WHITE, WASHINGTON

The Negotiations Over the Debt Ceiling

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "How Biden Blew It on the Debt Ceiling," by Paul Krugman (newsletter, May 16):

With respect to Mr. Krugman's hand-wringing about President Biden "negotiating" over the debt limit, fear not. All the blame for the consequences of default will go to Speaker Kevin McCarthy and his caucus. Mr. Biden knows this, so why not deny them the ability to later argue that he refused to talk?

Mr. Biden's only two choices were to unilaterally jettison the debt limit — by minting a coin, invoking the 14th Amendment, or whatever (which likely would have given our craven Supreme Court the final say) — or to watch the Republicans either cave at the last minute or face the political consequences of their destructive path.

If Mr. Biden offers Mr. McCarthy a chance to save face, all the better politically for the president and for the economy. That's why we elected him.

PETE KOPSCO
EAST MONTPELIER, VT.

TO THE EDITOR:

"Republicans Want to Use the Debt Ceiling to Inflict Cruelty on the Poor," by David Firestone (Opinion, May 18), clearly outlined the history and data regarding current and proposed work requirements for aid programs.

We should not ignore a basic fact: If people, whether working part time or otherwise, were paid an actual living wage, then the need for services such as Medicaid, food stamps and welfare would be drastically curtailed.

A robust living wage would reduce the dependence on the government that Republicans so resolutely condemn. And it would encourage workers to seek employment, another Republican talking point. If Republicans supported that initiative, they would succeed in helping the needy cut the apron strings of government dependency they abhor and put more people back to work.

So, why don't Republicans advocate for something that helps solve the problems they continually rail against?

MICHAEL STOUT, WASHINGTON

Feinstein's Frailty

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Ailing Senator Also Sustained Brain Swelling" (front page, May 19), about Dianne Feinstein, who is 89:

One of the nasty things that happens when you get really old is that denial replaces common sense.

What this much admired senator needs is a strong voice to persuade her it's time to quit. Her fellow Democrats would be doing her a valuable service if, as a body, they persuaded her to give up her fight.

It's heartbreaking to see her this way.

ANNE BERNAYS
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Aid Workers in Sudan

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "In Conflict, Real Heroes Stay Behind," by Farah Stockman (Opinion, May 15):

I thank Ms. Stockman for honoring the brave Sudanese doctors who have stayed — for some, at the cost of their lives — to help their fellow citizens caught in the crossfire.

The media's focus on the evacuation of diplomats and other foreigners from Sudan in the days after the fighting erupted did a disservice to all those who have stayed and are leading community efforts in the midst of conflict. This includes the aid workers who face daily risks in carrying out their work.

One of our Mercy Corps project officers in Qadarif, named Ghalia, told me, "Despite a lack of cash, the high cost of basic items, my fears of losing my family in Khartoum during this crisis, and difficulties in reaching the people we support, we are doing our best to keep our projects running."

Many Sudanese aid workers, like Ghalia, believe that there is hope for a better Sudan. We cannot let them down.

SIBONGANI KAYOLA
PORT SUDAN

The writer is country director for Sudan for Mercy Corps.

Urban Exodus

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "'Superstar' Cities Lose Luster as Educated Workers Tire of Costs" (The Upshot, May 15):

The drain of educated workers from obscenely expensive cities like New York and San Francisco will transform the more conservative states they move to. I've seen it happen.

My husband and I left Long Island 35 years ago for Georgia's job market. We bought a house in Decatur — which was like a ghost town — for $95,000. Since then, an influx of educated young professionals with meager graduate student savings have turned Decatur into a lively, lovely city.

These often-liberal immigrants helped transform deep-red Georgia in 2020-21, electing Joe Biden and two Democratic senators, flipping the Senate.

The drain of young, educated, generally progressive workers from unaffordable cities could help the nation as a whole, as they move to cheaper, ultraconservative areas, gradually changing the political landscape. At the least, they've caused a boom in coffee shops and restaurants.

It is a choice between living in cramped, degrading conditions, or enjoying good housing and being able to afford to have children. That's a no-brainer.

KARLA JENNINGS, DECATUR, GA.

Court Finds That F.B.I. Violated Rules Guiding Surveillance Program

By CHARLIE SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — F.B.I. analysts improperly used a warrantless surveillance program to search for information about hundreds of Americans who came under scrutiny in connection with two politically charged episodes of civil unrest: the protests after the 2020 police killing of George Floyd and the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the Capitol, a newly declassified court ruling shows.

While the F.B.I. has tightened restrictions since then, the disclosure of the misuses is likely to provide fodder to critics of the program as the Biden administration seeks to persuade Congress to renew it.

The surveillance program, known as Section 702, empowers the government to collect, without a warrant and from American companies like Google and AT&T, the communications of foreigners abroad who are targeted for intelligence purposes — even when they are talking with or about Americans.

Intelligence and law enforcement officials can search the database of communications intercepted under Section 702 using the names or other identifiers of Americans, but only under certain circumstances. The F.B.I. has repeatedly failed to comply with those limits, leading to court scrutiny.

In the newly declassified ruling, the presiding judge of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court, Rudolph Contreras, permitted the program in April 2022 to operate for another year based on changes the F.B.I. had made in 2021 and 2022 to improve compliance.

Judge Contreras wrote that he was encouraged by the efforts to improve the F.B.I.'s practices and that preliminary indications suggested the measures were "having the desired effect." Still, he cautioned that he could impose greater restrictions.

"Compliance problems with the F.B.I.'s querying of Section 702 information have proven to be persistent and widespread," he wrote.

The ruling, which was redacted in places, also described some of the incidents in which officials did not comply with the standard for searching the Section 702 repository using Americans' identifiers. That standard stipulates that a search can be conducted when there is a specific reason to believe that information about foreign intelligence or a crime involving that American would be in a repository of messages collected from foreigners abroad.

In June 2020, the decision said, an official searched the repository using a batch of 133 identifiers of people arrested "in connection with civil unrest and protests between approximately May 30 and June 18, 2020," to determine whether there was any counterterrorism-related information in the repository about them.

That period corresponds to the nationwide Black Lives Matter protests after the killing of Mr. Floyd in Minneapolis, some of which descended into riots. The F.B.I. initially defended the queries as compliant, but the Justice Department apparently disagreed.

The ruling also details several incidents in which F.B.I. officials ran queries of people suspected of involvement in the Jan. 6 riot at the Capitol. One line discussed "three batch queries consisting of approximately 23,132 separate queries" presumed to be Americans. A portion of the decision was then redacted, and it continued, "was being used by a group involved in the Jan. 6 Capitol breach."

Other incidents included separate query batches of 13 and five Jan. 6 suspects; "two queries for a person under investigation for assaulting a federal officer in connection with the Capitol breach"; and a partly redacted discussion of 360 queries in connection with various "domestic drug and gang investigations, domestic terrorism investigations and the Capitol breach."

In a background briefing with reporters, a senior F.B.I. official said that in those cases, the analysts misunderstood the standard and were required to undergo additional training.

Judge Contreras's opinion described several other notable misuses. In one, an unidentified official conducted a batch query for over 19,000 donors to a congressional campaign.

While the analyst later explained that the campaign was the target of a foreign influence operation, the Justice Department's national security division "determined that only eight identifiers used in the query had sufficient ties to foreign influence activities to comply with the querying standard."

A senior Justice Department official said in the background briefing that the candidate had lost the election to an incumbent lawmaker.

The subsequent changes the F.B.I. made included altering its system so the Section 702 repository is excluded by default when agents search the bureau's various databases, requiring high-level approval for large batch queries with many identifiers, and having officials detail how their queries comply with the standard.

The total number of queries for Americans — and the frequency of incidents in which F.B.I. officials made queries that did not comply with limits — appears to have dropped as a result. An intelligence community report last month said that the F.B.I. made queries using 119,383 identifiers for Americans in 2022, down from nearly three million in 2021.

The disclosure of the incidents comes as national security agencies lobby Congress to reauthorize Section 702. While Congress did so in 2012 and 2018, the program faces stronger headwinds this cycle, as Republicans who have adopted former President Donald J. Trump's hostility toward the F.B.I. and surveillance have joined with civil libertarians who have long been critical of the law.

A number of the misuses related to the George Floyd protests and the Jan. 6 attack.

Privacy advocates, for their part, have revived a proposal to require the government to obtain a warrant from the surveillance court before it may search the Section 702 repository using an American's identifiers.

Elizabeth Goitein of the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law, who backs that idea, said the violations disclosed in the opinion, particularly for the political campaign donors and those arrested in connection with the racial justice protests, showed the necessity of that proposal. "The opinion provides frightening proof of the need for a warrant requirement before agencies conduct U.S. person queries," she said.

Judge Contreras's ruling separately approved a request by the National Security Agency to use Section 702 in a novel way, after the judge rejected the objections of an independent expert, Laura K. Donohue, a Georgetown University law professor appointed to critique the government's proposal.

That part of the opinion was heavily censored, but the Office of the Director of National Intelligence described it as "a highly sensitive technique" to be used against "overseas targets in a manner that is reasonably expected to result in no incidental collection" of Americans' communications.

Senator Ron Wyden, an Oregon Democrat who strongly supports tightening limits on the surveillance program, said in a statement that he would push the office to make more of the opinion public.

"There is important, secret information about how the government has interpreted Section 702 that Congress and the American people need to see before the law is renewed," he said.

The intelligence community on Friday also released another newly declassified opinion showing that in 2021, Judge Contreras approved a physical search of two locations under novel circumstances as consistent with another part of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act.

Before approving the searches, the judge appointed two outside experts to help analyze the issue. The visible portions of the ruling mentioned that the government would receive the data of agents of a foreign power as a result, and the judge required officials to limit what data it supplied. The details were otherwise censored.

KENNETH FERRIERA/LINCOLN JOURNAL STAR, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Protesters against the combined bill chanted "shame" outside the chamber on Friday after it was passed by the one-house legislature.

A One-Two Win for Conservatives in Nebraska

By ERNESTO LONDOÑO

Nebraska lawmakers voted on Friday to restrict access to abortion and medical care for transgender youth, after weeks of vociferous debate on two issues that have divided state legislators across the country this year.

Conservative lawmakers bundled provisions restricting access to both forms of medical treatment into a single bill in the final days of the legislative session.

The merger was done for practical reasons in Nebraska's capital: As a result of persistent filibustering by Democrats, proponents of limits on abortion and transgender care were running out of time to push the issues through as stand-alone laws before the session ended.

The blended bill, known as L.B. 574, passed by a 33-to-15 vote. It includes looser restrictions than the original provisions that Republicans sought to pass. Republicans saw it as a compromise, while Democrats were furious about what they saw as a last-minute scramble to revive restrictions on abortion. Minutes after vote, opponents of the bill gathered outside the chamber and chanted, "Shame!" according to video posted by Nebraska Public Media News.

Nebraska Republicans initially had sought to ban most abortions after six weeks of pregnancy, but that measure failed, and the amended proposal set the limit at 12 weeks. The bill includes exceptions for rape, incest and medical emergencies.

An earlier bill on medical treatment for transgender people would have barred minors from receiving puberty blockers, hormone therapy and surgeries. But after extensive debate and back room negotiations, Republicans scaled back their goal to ensure that they would have enough support.

The proposal approved on Friday bans surgeries and calls on the state's chief medical officer to establish criteria under which puberty blockers and hormone therapy may be administered to people younger than 19. The restriction will be enforced starting on Oct. 1.

State Senator Ben Hansen, a Republican who proposed attaching the abortion limit to the bill restricting transgender care, said neither side emerged with a clear victory.

"I feel that this is what good government is all about," Mr. Hansen said. "We listened to what the opposition had to say, pumped the brakes and moved it through in a compromising fashion."

Democrats in Nebraska's 49-seat unicameral Legislature — which is nominally nonpartisan but dominated by Republicans — did not see it that way. They expressed concern that the chief medical officer, who was appointed by the Republican governor, would establish onerous requirements to access puberty blockers and hormones.

"This has the potential to be a back door to a full ban," said Senator John Fredrickson, a Democrat from Omaha who was among the lawmakers who filibustered for weeks in an effort to block the original transgender bill.

The bill says that puberty blockers and hormones may be prescribed to patients who have a "long-lasting and intense pattern of gender nonconformity or gender dysphoria which began or worsened at the start of puberty." It establishes that those treatments may be administered only after a person has attended an unspecified number of psychotherapy sessions.

A single bill that curbs access to abortion and medical care for transgender youth.

The bill is the latest in a fight over reproductive care. Since the Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade last June, 14 states have banned most abortions.

Democrats in Nebraska rejoiced last month when the effort to ban abortions after six weeks of pregnancy fell short by a single vote. Senator Merv Riepe, a Republican, deemed the six-week ban too severe, dooming the bill's passage. Mr. Riepe signaled support for the 12-week ban and voted in favor of efforts to merge the two issues this week.

Gov. Jim Pillen, a Republican, celebrated the vote to restrict access to abortion and transgender medical care. "All children deserve a chance to grow and live happy, fruitful lives," he said in a statement. "This includes preborn boys and girls, and it includes children struggling with their gender identity."

The fight over both issues shattered traditions of civility and bipartisanship in a state where lawmakers have long sought to remain removed from the divisiveness of national politics.

Senator George Dungan, a Democrat, called the bill discriminatory and predicted it would face legal challenges.

"We should not be in the business of telling people what they can and can't do with their bodies," he said during the final minutes of the debate that preceded the vote on Friday afternoon.

The intensity of the debate this year in Nebraska came partly because the transgender health care ban issue was deeply personal for Democrats. One of the chamber's liberal lawmakers, Senator Megan Hunt, has a transgender son. During legislative debates, she angrily accused Republican colleagues of seeking to legislate away her parental rights.

Senator Machaela Cavanaugh, a Democrat who led efforts to filibuster the original proposal, said those who opposed limits to abortion and transgender care would continue to fight through the courts and other means.

"I think the only victory in this is that trans people, especially trans youth, are no longer invisible," she said.

In Worst Case, It Won't Matter Who Was to Blame

CARL HULSE ON WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON — Is it the Biden default? Or the Republican Default on America?

Even as negotiators push forward with halting talks to resolve the federal debt-ceiling standoff, members of both parties are positioning themselves to try to dodge the blame for the economic fallout if things go south. Democrats lambaste Republicans for taking the debt ceiling hostage to appease "extreme MAGA" conservatives bent on shrinking government spending. Republicans hit Democrats for waiting too long to open talks and not taking G.O.P. demands seriously.

But deep down — and in some cases not so deep — officials in both parties know they are all going to pay if they don't get a deal, the government defaults and Americans lose money and jobs and confidence about their financial well-being and future.

"I would hate to be the politician trying to explain to people when the economy is in the toilet that it's not my fault, it's their fault," said Senator Lindsey Graham, Republican of South Carolina. "Yeah, that ain't going to work. They will flush us all."

Polls have suggested Mr. Graham's view is correct. A Washington Post-ABC News Poll released earlier this month shows that the public is divided about who will bear the blame, with a significant chunk of independents saying the two sides should share it equally.

And some on Capitol Hill say the political backlash will be well deserved if Congress and the White House manage to mangle the situation so badly that public officials careen into a completely avoidable crisis and send both the economy and the retirement accounts of millions of Americans reeling.

"I can't comprehend that anyone who had the ability to prevent this much damage to our country, our economy and our world standing would allow that to happen," said Senator Joe Manchin III, Democrat of West Virginia, who had been among those pressing his party to engage in negotiations earlier. "It would be absolutely reprehensible. Everyone should get hammered."

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden with congressional leaders. Polls show the public is divided on who will bear the blame if there is no resolution.

But those likely reverberations haven't yet motivated negotiators to come to an agreement and clear the way for an economic sigh of relief. Representative Garret Graves of Louisiana, the point man for House Republicans in the talks, abruptly exited a Friday negotiating session with administration representatives in the Capitol, accusing them of being "unreasonable," and the talks were temporarily suspended. Suddenly, the path to a quick agreement that Speaker Kevin McCarthy had seen on Thursday was newly cluttered with obstacles. By the evening, talks had resumed.

Such ups and downs in budget negotiations are fairly standard and can be performative as well as substantive. Both sides need to flex to show their respective forces that they are hanging tough and pushing for all they can get. But there are real differences in the positions of Democrats and Republicans on a host of issues on the bargaining table. A positive outcome is no certainty, despite regular high-level assurances that the United States cannot and will not default in the coming days.

Still, should that occur, lawmakers and administration officials would like you to know that they didn't do it.

"Here we are on the brink of a Biden default," Senator Shelley Moore Capito, Republican of West Virginia, declared this week both in person and via news release, sounding a refrain becoming increasingly popular with Republicans — that this was all Mr. Biden's doing because he refused to engage with them earlier and allow enough time to work out an agreement.

Not so, counter the Democrats. "We find ourselves in the midst of a G.O.P.-manufactured default crisis because House Republicans have chosen to try and hold our economy, our small businesses, everyday Americans hostage to unreasonable ransom demands," Representative Hakeem Jeffries, Democrat of New York and the minority leader, said.

Republicans have a retort. They argue that since they squeezed legislation through the House last month that would raise the debt limit and enact spending cuts, they have bragging rights as well as immunity from any criticism because they are the only ones who have acted thus far — though it was widely known the bill could never pass the Democratic-majority Senate.

"I don't know how we own it if we raised the debt limit," Mr. McCarthy said when asked if he was ready to face the consequences for a default. His colleagues share his view.

"In my district I don't think it would be a huge problem," said Representative Tom Cole, Republican of Oklahoma. "I did vote to raise the debt ceiling. Show me one person on the other side who did."

In addition, Republicans know it is traditionally the president who gets credit or fault for the state of the economy even if circumstances are well beyond control of the executive branch.

Democrats scoff at the Republican claims. Senator Chuck Schumer, the New York Democrat and majority leader, dubbed the House legislation the Default on America Act, to try to capture both its impact and its dead-on-arrival status in the Senate. He and his fellow Democrats say they refuse to reward Republicans for what they view as irresponsible actions that are putting the nation's economy at risk — even though both parties have used the debt limit for bargaining leverage over the years.

"From the beginning, Democrats have said — I have said — that this process demands bipartisanship," Mr. Schumer said this week. "It's how we avoided default under President Trump. It's how we have avoided default under President Biden, and it's how we should avoid default this time too. Brinkmanship, hiding plans, hostage-taking — none of that will move us closer to a solution."

The two parties can continue to trade shots. But until they trade negotiating positions they can come to terms on, the threat of default hangs over Washington and the nation. And if that happens, those involved may find that the public won't distinguish between who did or said what when, but will hold them all accountable.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

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DAILY: RADIO MASS
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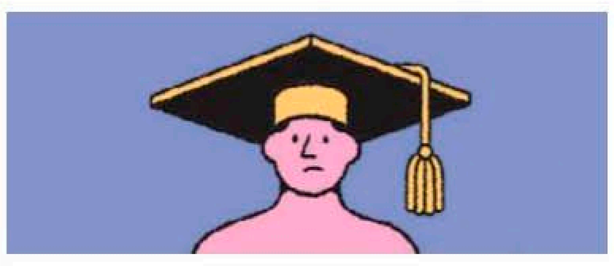
www.latinmass-ctm.org
Facebook: Ave Maria-Chapel

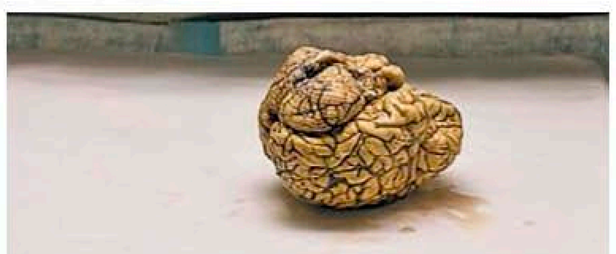
3 INTERNATIONAL

After a sale of assets, Volkswagen is the latest European carmaker to leave Russia in the past year.



4 YOUR MONEY ADVISER

Federal student loan rates are expected to rise, making it even more vital for you to understand your options.



8 SPORTS

The National Sports Brain Bank at the University of Pittsburgh will study head trauma specific to athletes.

Business

The New York Times

SATURDAY, MAY 20, 2023 B1

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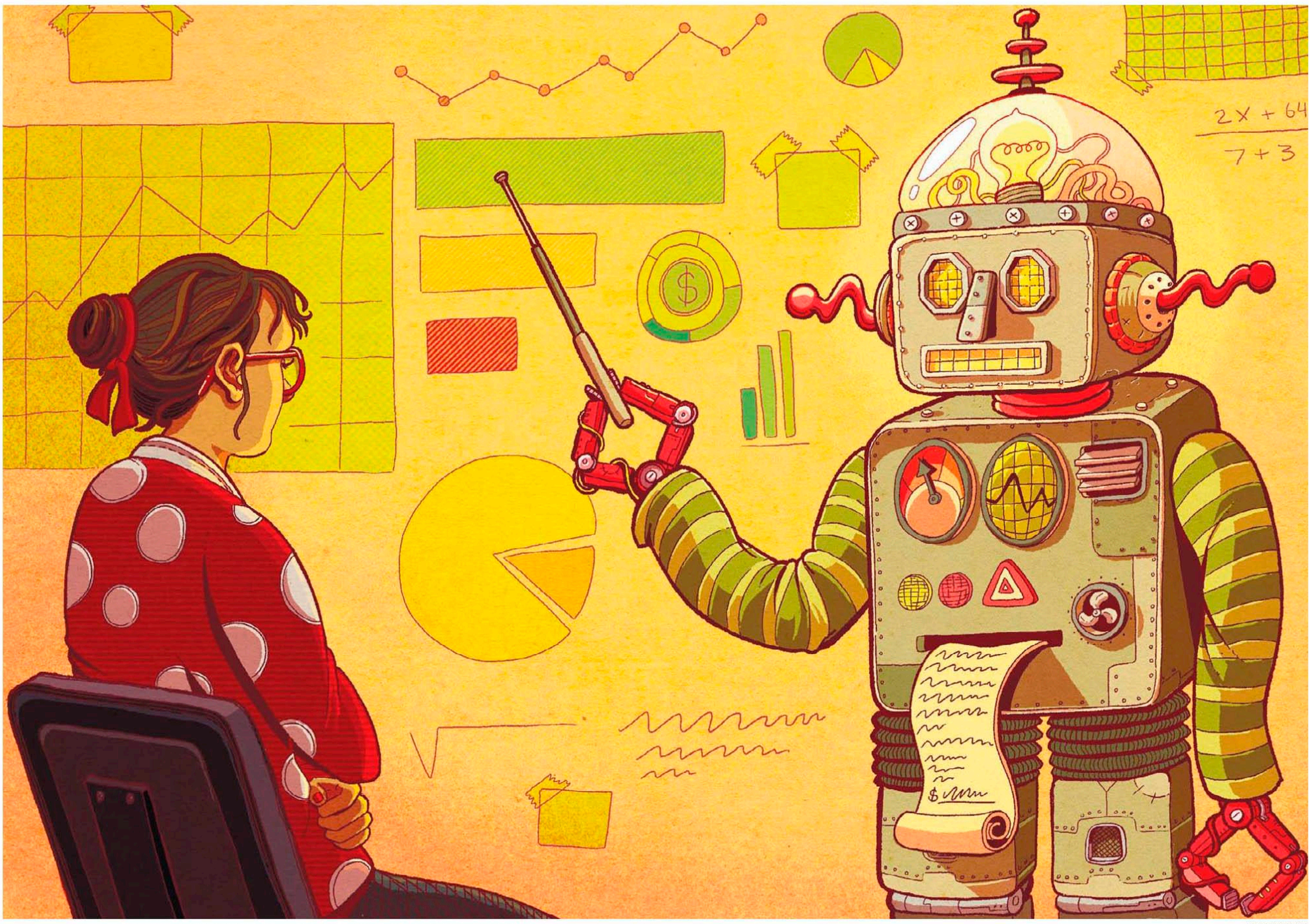


WILL CORDELL

Would You Take A.I.'s Money Advice?

By PAULETTE PERHACH

The financial services industry is plotting how to incorporate tools like ChatGPT into its products.

Paul Weiner, an artist, has been experimenting with artificial intelligence for the past year, generating A.I.-created visual disinformation and seeing whether he can get the images to spread. But recently, he turned to ChatGPT, a chatbot that has the ability to respond to complex questions, for a much different reason: With his 30th birthday looming, he decided to ask it for advice about retirement planning.

"Maybe ChatGPT would have some answers that I might otherwise get from someone who I'd have to pay a lot of money to," he said.

Generative A.I. like ChatGPT has knowledge workers gripping the rails, bracing for how it might affect their jobs, and consumers leaning in to see what costly services could soon be replaced with a prompt. As the investment industry turns to artificial intelligence as a financial planning and advice tool, the values of accuracy, humanity, security and accessibility are jostling for prominence. In the future, who — or what — will we be asking to advise us on some of life's most important decisions?

ChatGPT recommended that Mr. Weiner open a Roth individual retirement account and certificates of deposit, as well as automate his savings and create a budget. He hasn't yet opened any of the accounts or, as the chatbot also suggested, worked with a financial adviser.

"It's a lot of information that gets thrown at you pretty quickly," Mr. Weiner said. He found the short explanations insufficient for what a C.D. does or the differences between a Roth I.R.A. and a traditional I.R.A. He concluded that speaking to a financial adviser would probably be more helpful.

"But that kind of circles back to the whole reason I'm doing this on ChatGPT to start with — it's free," he said.

A.I. has joined the financial chat

Delyanne Barros, a money coach, said she felt that most of the hundreds of thousands of people who follow her on social media had no idea what ChatGPT is. "Am I the

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

China Says 1 in 5 Young People Is Unemployed

By CLAIRE FU

HOU YU/CHINA NEWS SERVICE/VISUAL CHINA GROUP, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Graduating in Beijing. China said 20.4 percent of people ages 16 to 24 looking for a job were out of work in April.

Shu Xiang, 21, started looking for a job in February and still has had no luck. A financial management major at a college in Chengdu, China, Ms. Shu said she had received five responses to about 100 applications. Graduation is in a few weeks.

"I'm not so confident about finding a job," she said. The only thing that makes her feel less anxious, she said, is knowing she's not alone — most of her classmates were facing similar problems.

Ms. Shu is one of nearly 12 million Chinese expected to enter the job pool next month at a difficult time. The government reported this week that 20.4 percent of people ages 16 to 24 looking for a job were out of work in April. That is the highest level since China started announcing the statistic in 2018.

High youth unemployment has been a dark stain on China's economy for several years, exacerbated by strict pandemic health restrictions limited travel, decimated small businesses and damaged consumer confidence. The government, facing rare public discontent as young professionals in major cities across China pro-

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3

A.I. Spurs An Industry To Detect It

By TIFFANY HSU and STEVEN LEE MYERS

Andrey Doronichev was alarmed last year when he saw a video on social media that appeared to show the president of Ukraine surrendering to Russia.

The video was quickly debunked as a synthetically generated deepfake, but to Mr. Doronichev, it was a worrying portent. This year, his fears crept closer to reality, as companies began competing to enhance and release artificial intelligence technology despite the havoc it could cause.

Generative A.I. is now available to anyone, and it's increasingly capable of fooling people with text, audio, images and videos that seem to be conceived and captured by humans. The risk of societal gullibility has set off concerns about disinformation, job loss, discrimination, privacy and broad dystopia.

For entrepreneurs like Mr. Doronichev, it has also become a

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

Judge Halts Partnership Of 2 Airlines

By JOE RENNISON and NIRAJ CHOKSHI

A federal judge halted a partnership between American Airlines and JetBlue Airways at airports in New York and Boston, writing in a ruling on Friday that the alliance would hurt competition and raise fares.

The decision is a big victory for the Justice Department, which under President Biden has sought to enforce antitrust laws more aggressively, especially in industries like airlines and technology, where a few companies wield such dominance that it can be hard, if not impossible, for smaller businesses to challenge them. The judge ruled that the airlines' partnership, known as the Northeast Alliance, must end.

Under the agreement, begun in 2021, each airline sells seats offered by the other on certain routes. The airlines also share revenue from certain flights and access to airport gates. The alliance covers the three major air-

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

The Digest

ECONOMY

Powell Says Inflation Remains Too High

Jerome H. Powell, the Federal Reserve chair, said on Friday that inflation continued to be "far above" the central bank's target but that policymakers "haven't made any decisions" about whether to raise rates at their next meeting in June.

The comments, at the Fed's annual Thomas Laubach Research Conference, came as businesses and investors around the world are trying to gauge whether the Fed is preparing to pause its campaign to raise borrowing costs amid signs that inflation is easing and the U.S. economy is cooling.

Mr. Powell did not offer a clear signal on the path of interest rates, but said the Fed remained committed to bringing inflation closer to its 2 percent target.

Mr. Powell did note that recent turmoil in the banking sector had prompted lenders to pull back on providing credit, which will probably weigh on economic growth. That could reduce the need to raise interest rates as high as they otherwise would need to be lifted.

But Mr. Powell made clear that the Fed, which will meet on June 13-14, had not yet determined its next move.

"Until very recently, it's been clear that further policy firming would be required," Mr. Powell said. "As policy has become more restrictive, the risks of doing too much versus too little are becoming more balanced."

ALAN RAPPEPORT and JOE RENNISON

LITIGATION

DeSantis Seeks to Remove Judge in Disney Case

SOPHIE PARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Lawyers for Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida asked a federal judge on Friday to step down from a case brought by Disney, saying his comments in two unrelated court proceedings last year displayed a bias toward the company.

John Guard, the Florida chief deputy attorney general, made the request to Mark E. Walker, the chief judge for the Northern District of Florida, on behalf of Mr. DeSantis. Judge Walker is presiding over the early stages of a Disney lawsuit, filed last month, that accused Mr. DeSantis and a board that oversees government services at Walt Disney World of engaging in "a targeted campaign of government retaliation."

In their motion, Mr. Guard and lawyers for the five members of the board said two remarks from last year "could reasonably be understood to reflect that the court has prejudged Disney's retaliation theory here, and therefore create significant doubts about the court's impartiality."

Judge Walker made one of the remarks, at a hearing in a case involving intellectual freedom on college campuses, a day after Mr. DeSantis "publicly refuted" the notion that he was taking "retaliatory" action against Disney, the filing said.

The second remark was made in June at a preliminary injunction hearing involving Florida's "Stop WOKE Act," which limits discussion of "white man's privilege" and other racial bias issues during diversity training offered by private employers. According to the filing, Judge Walker cited what was going on between Mr. DeSantis and Disney as an example of a punitive action.

A spokesman for Disney declined to comment. Judge Walker, who was appointed in 2012 by President Barack Obama, did not respond to a message seeking comment. *BROOKS BARNES*

S&P 500 INDEX
−0.1%
4,191.98

DOW JONES INDUSTRIALS
−0.3%
33,426.63

NASDAQ COMPOSITE INDEX
−0.2%
12,657.9

10-YEAR TREASURY YIELD
3.69%
+0.039 points

CRUDE OIL (U.S.)
$71.69
−$0.25

GOLD (N.Y.)
$1,981.60
+$21.80

Strong Week on Wall St. Ends With a Thud

By The Associated Press

Wall Street's best week since March ran out of steam on Friday as worries rose about the U.S. government's efforts to avoid a potentially disastrous default on its debt.

The S&P 500 slipped 0.1 percent, the Dow Jones industrial average dropped 0.3 percent and the Nasdaq composite fell 0.2 percent.

STOCKS & BONDS

Despite its weak Friday, the S&P 500 still managed to break out of a listless stretch where it failed to move by 1 percent, up or down, for six straight weeks. It gained 1.6 percent, with much of the strength earlier in the week coming on rising hopes that Washington can avoid a debt default.

Democrats and Republicans are facing down a June 1 deadline, which is when the U.S. government could run out of cash to pay its bills unless Congress allows it to borrow more. A default on its debt would likely mean a recession for the economy, which has economists and investors widely expecting a deal to be made.

But some of the hope ebbed on Friday after a top negotiator for House Speaker Kevin McCarthy said it was time to "press pause" on talks. That helped cause the S&P 500 to flip from modest midday gains to losses. It was the latest flick in the tug of war that has dominated Wall Street for weeks.

"Every single day, the market is just a back and forth on recession or no recession," said Brent Schutte, chief investment officer at Northwestern Mutual Wealth Management. "That's why we've been in this range bound area. Some people believe we are heading for or are in a recession, like I believe, and some don't."

A default on the U.S. debt would almost surely cause a recession. But helping to counterbalance those worries on Friday were hopes that the Federal Reserve may soon take it easier on its hikes to interest rates. That, in contrast, could ease the pressure on an already slowing economy.

Traders took comments made by Fed Chair Jerome H. Powell on Friday to indicate that the Fed may leave interest rates alone at its next meeting in June. That would be the first time it has done so in more than a year after raising rates at a furious pace in hopes of driving down inflation.

High rates have helped inflation cool from its peak last summer. But they do that by hurting the economy broadly and dragging down prices of stocks, bonds and other investments. Manufacturing and other areas of the economy have already shown weakness under the weight of higher interest rates.

After Mr. Powell spoke, Treasury yields gave up some of their gains from earlier in the day as traders ratcheted back bets for another Fed rate hike in June.

The yield on the 10-year Treasury rose to 3.69 percent from 3.65 percent late Thursday. That yield helps set rates for mortgages and other important loans.

The two-year Treasury yield, which moves more on expectations for Fed action, climbed as high as 4.33 percent before Mr. Powell began speaking. It later fell back to 4.25 percent, down from 4.26 percent late Thursday.

Just a day earlier, traders were upping bets for a Fed hike in June. That was after the president of the Dallas Fed, Lorie Logan, suggested that another hike may be on the way unless more data arrives to suggest further cooling of inflation, which remains well above the Fed's target.

On Wall Street, DXC Technology rose 2.5 percent for one of the bigger gains in the S&P 500 after offering a mixed earnings report. Its revenue for the latest quarter fell shy of forecasts, but it also announced a new $1 billion program to buy back its own stock. Investors tend to like such purchases because they can goose a company's earnings per share.

On the losing side was Foot Locker, which tumbled 27.2 percent. It lowered its financial forecast for the year because it has had to mark down prices to get shoppers to buy amid what it calls a tough economic environment.

Another retailer, Ross Stores, fell 0.6 percent after releasing an expected range for earnings this full year that fell short of some analysts' projections. That was despite its sales and revenue for the latest quarter topping Wall Street's expectations.

Much scrutiny has been on retailers this week, which also saw Home Depot, Target and Walmart report mixed results. That's because resilient spending by U.S. households has been one of the main pillars keeping the economy from falling into a recession.

Deere also topped forecasts for revenue and earnings in the latest quarter, but its stock swung from an early gain to a drop of 1.9 percent. Unlike many companies on Wall Street, Deere is seeing its profit and revenue grow from year-ago levels.

The S&P 500 Index

Position of the S&P 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Friday

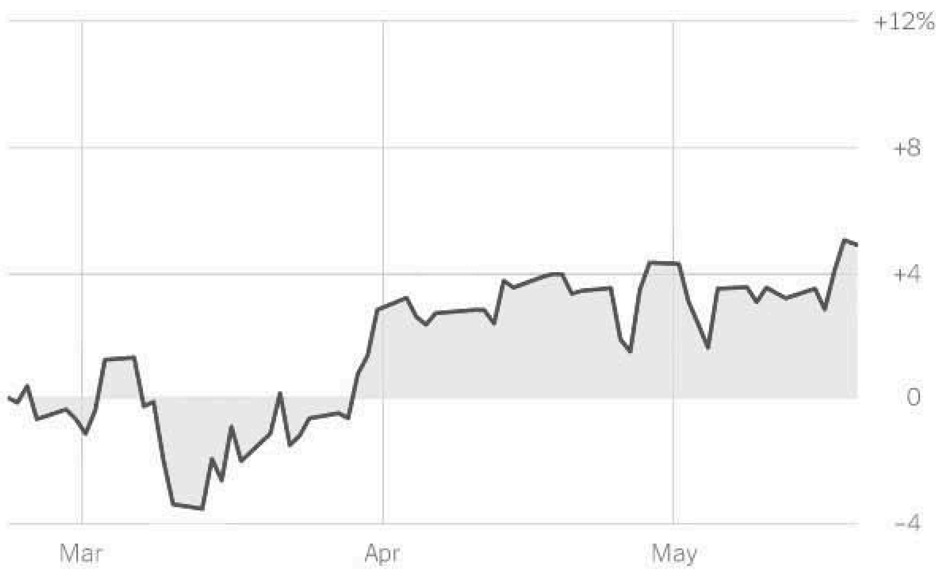
-- Previous Close: 4,198.05

Source: FactSet
THE NEW YORK TIMES

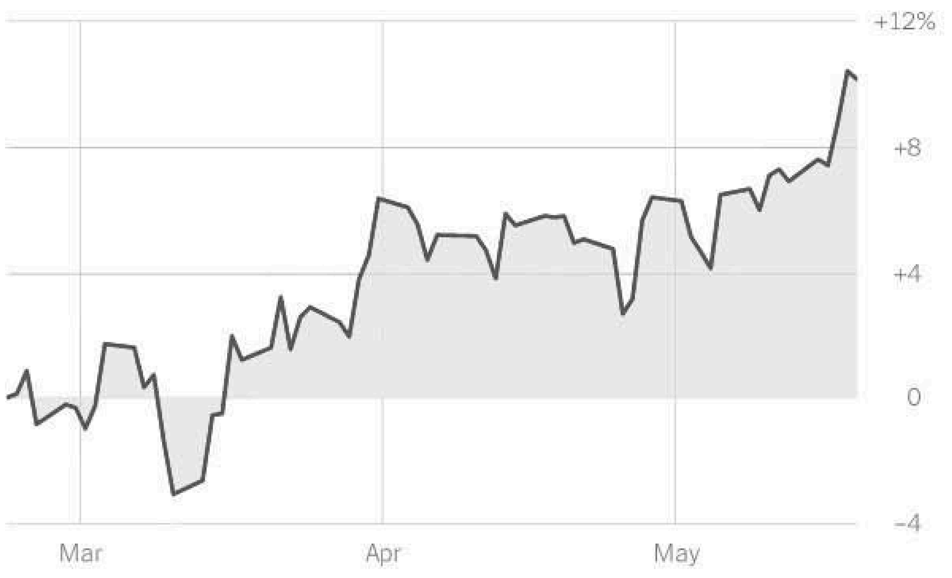
What Happened in Stock Markets Yesterday

POWERED BY FACTSET

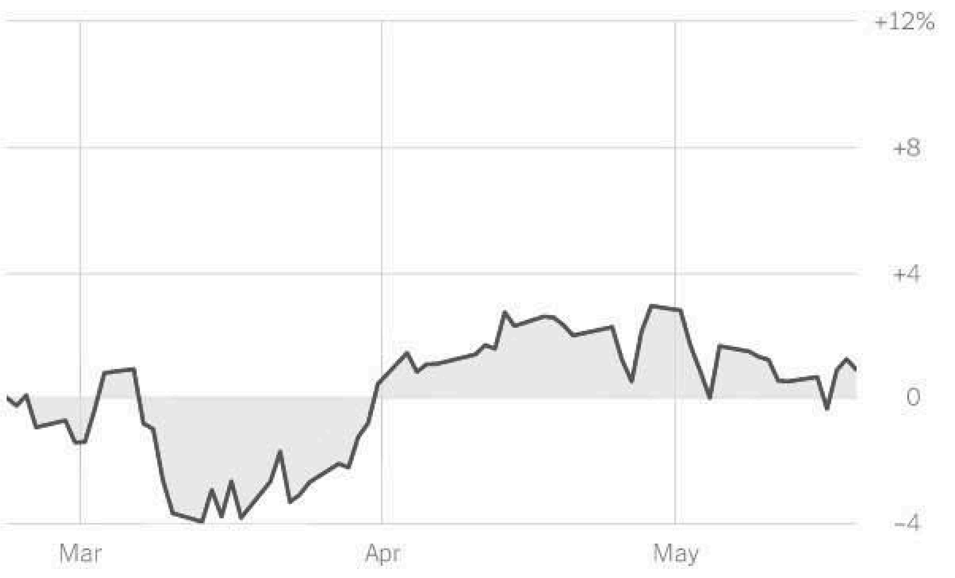
S&P 500 4,191.98 ↓ −0.1%
3 month performance: **+4.9%**



Nasdaq Composite Index 12,657.90 ↓ −0.2%
3 month performance: **+10.1%**



Dow Jones Industrials 33,426.63 ↓ −0.3%
3 month performance: **+0.9%**



Best performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Catalent (CTLT)	$37.17	+15.7%
2. EPAM Systems (EPAM)	$247.50	+3.9
3. Adobe (ADBE)	$371.25	+3.0
4. BorgWarner (BWA)	$46.15	+2.6
5. DXC TECH (DXC)	$24.44	+2.5
6. Pioneer Natural Resources (PXD)	$208.94	+2.4
7. EOG Resources (EOG)	$114.59	+2.3
8. Fortinet (FTNT)	$69.63	+2.2
9. APA Corp. (APA)	$33.41	+2.1
10. Iqvia Holdings (IQV)	$199.44	+2.0

Worst performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. V.F. Corp (VFC)	$19.07	−8.2%
2. Ulta Beauty (ULTA)	$491.05	−4.4
3. Dish Network Co. (DISH)	$6.70	−3.7
4. Digital Realty Trust (DLR)	$90.75	−3.7
5. ETSY (ETSY)	$89.10	−3.6
6. Generac Holdings (GNRC)	$113.79	−3.5
7. NIKE 'B' (NKE)	$114.76	−3.5
8. Paramount Global 'B' (PARA)	$15.17	−3.4
9. Best Buy (BBY)	$70.53	−3.4
10. Advance Auto Parts (AAP)	$117.41	−3.4

Most active

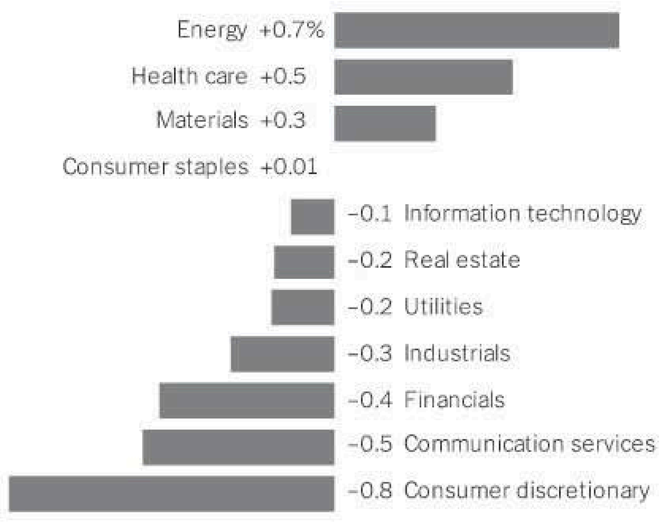
S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE	VOLUME IN MIL.
1. Tesla (TSLA)	$180.14	+1.8%	135
2. Advanced Micro Devices (AMD)	$105.82	−2.0	67
3. Amazon.com (AMZN)	$116.25	−1.6	54
4. Apple (AAPL)	$175.16	+0.1	53
5. Bank of America (BAC)	$28.11	−1.3	49
6. NVIDIA (NVDA)	$312.64	−1.3	47
7. AT&T Inc. (T)	$16.31	−1.5	44
8. Ford Motor (F)	$11.65	+0.1	43
9. Alphabet A (GOOGL)	$122.76	−0.1	41
10. Intel Corp (INTC)	$29.93	+0.8	41

World stocks

	TOTAL RETURN 1 YR	TOTAL RETURN 5 YRS	TOTAL ASSETS IN BIL.
1. Vanguard Instl Total International Index Trust (VTISX)	+3.6%	+2.8%	373.9
2. Vanguard Developed Markets Index Fund Investor Shares (VDVIX)	+6.4	+3.5	166.4
3. American Funds EuroPacific Growth Fund Class R-5E (RERHX)	+5.6	+3.3	138.0
4. Vanguard FTSE All-World ex-US Index Fund Institutional Plus Shares (VFWPX)	+4.2	+2.9	51.3
5. Dodge & Cox International Stock Fund Class X (DOXFX)	+7.7	+3.1	44.9
6. Vanguard International Growth Fund Admiral Shares (VWILX)	+3.2	+6.2	44.5
7. Fidelity International Index Fund (FSPSX)	+9.8	+3.8	41.9
8. MFS International Diversification Fund Class B (MDIFX)	+5.6	+3.7	36.3
9. Fidelity Series Global ex U.S. Index Fund (FSGEX)	+4.4	+2.7	36.1
10. DFA International Core Equity Portfolio Institutional Class (DFIEX)	+6.6	+3.2	30.7

Source: Morningstar

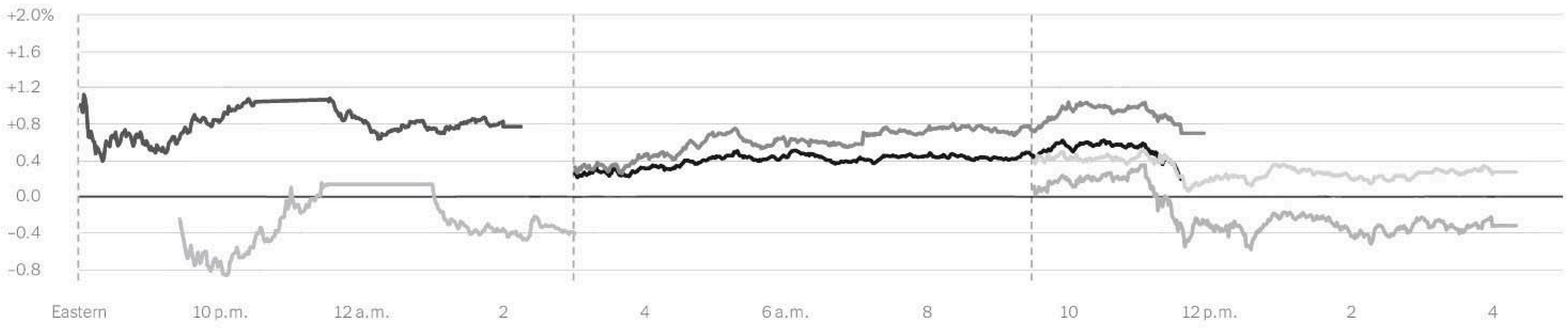
Sector performance
S&P 500 SECTORS



How stock markets fared yesterday in Asia ...
— Nikkei 225 (Japan): +0.8%
— Shanghai Composite (Shanghai): −0.4%

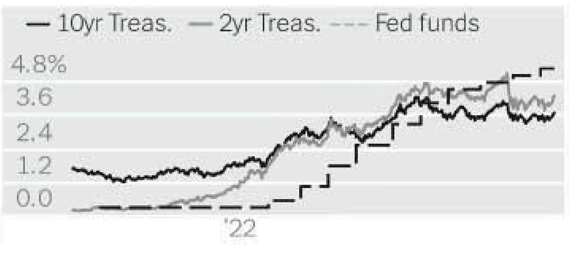
... in Europe
— FTSE 100 (London): +0.2%
— DAX (Frankfurt): +0.7%

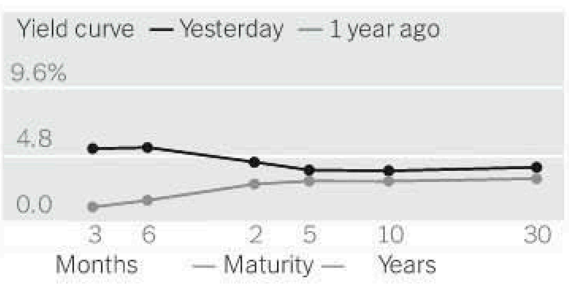
... and North America
— Dow Jones Industrials (New York): −0.3%
— S&P/TSX (Toronto): +0.3%



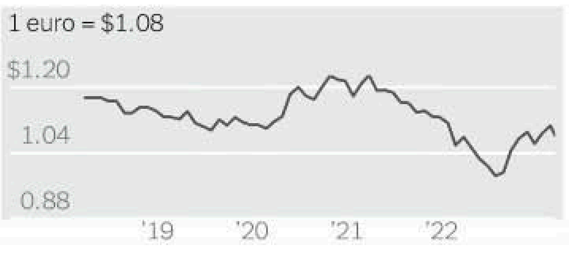
What Is Happening in Other Markets and the Economy

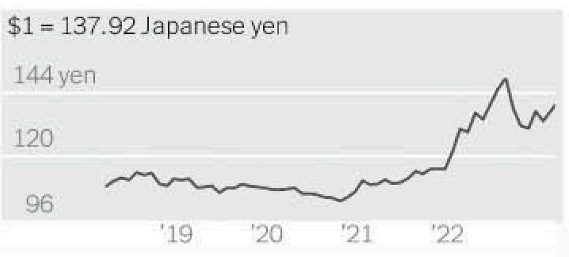
Bonds



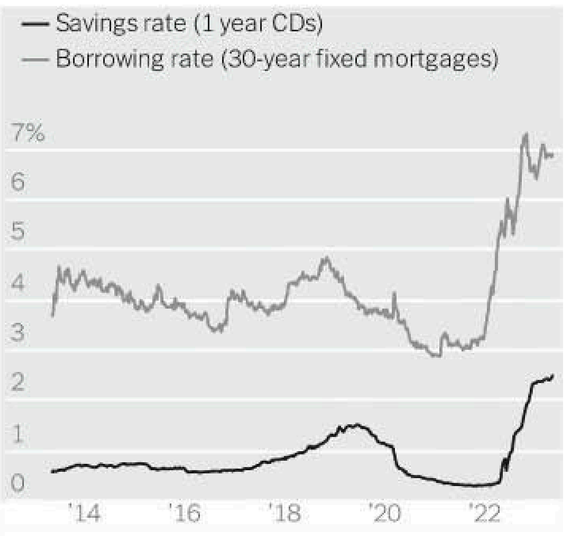


Currencies

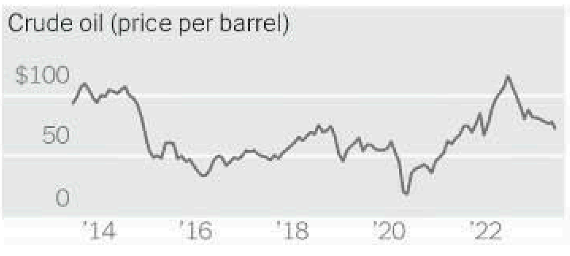


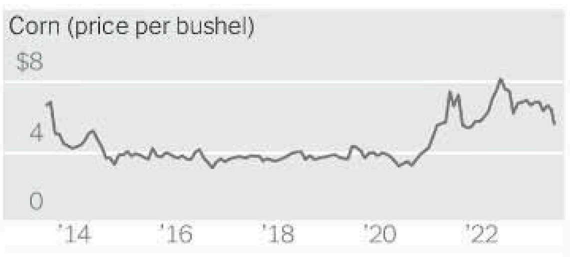


Consumer rates

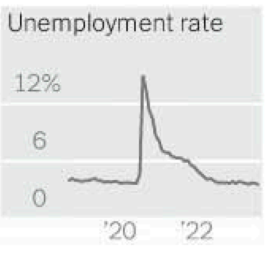


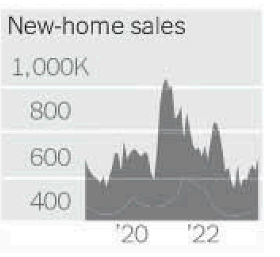
Commodities

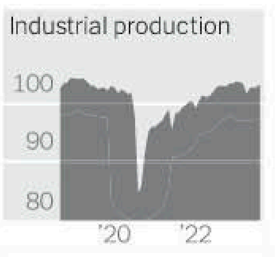




Economy







INTERNATIONAL | FINANCE

Youth Unemployment Crisis in China: One in Five Is Out of Work

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

tested the "zero Covid" rules, abruptly announced in December that it would start easing the policies. But the youth jobless rate has remained high, even as the overall rate has ticked down two months in a row.

The Chinese government has introduced a set of policies meant to stimulate youth employment, including subsidies for small and midsize businesses that hire college graduates. State-owned enterprises have been directed to make more jobs available for those just starting out.

Nearly 12 million are expected to enter the job market in June.

Overall, the Chinese economy is steadying itself more slowly and unevenly than many believed it would. Other reports released by Beijing this week showed an increase in retail sales and factory activity in April, but those numbers caused unease among economists and investors, who expected better results because the data was being compared with April 2022, when millions of people were effectively shut inside during a lockdown in Shanghai.

China's big tech companies, coming off a difficult year, are starting to show signs of a rebound, but for the most part their financial performances have not returned to prepandemic levels.

One problem, analysts said, is a mismatch between the jobs that college graduates want and the jobs that are available.

In March, listings for jobs in tourism and in passenger and cargo transportation grew the fastest, according to Zhilian, a Chinese job search site. Another sector with many available jobs is retail.

Industries like construction, transportation and warehousing, which typically draw heavy interest from China's vast population of migrant workers, have also picked up, Fu Linghui, a spokesman for the National Bureau of Statistics, said at a news conference this week.

Nie Riming, a researcher at the Shanghai Institute of Finance and Law, a research organization, said young people with degrees in higher education were seeking jobs in technology, education and medicine.

"But these industries are exactly the ones that have been growing slow in China in the past several years," Mr. Nie said. "Many industries not only did not grow, but also suffered from devastating blows."

CFOTO/FUTURE PUBLISHING, VIA GETTY IMAGES

A job fair in Fuyang, China, in March. High youth unemployment has dogged China's economy for several years.

China has cracked down on its once-vibrant education and technology industries in the past several years. Hundreds of thousands of people have lost their jobs, and companies and investors have been left reeling. The tightened supervision has prompted concerns about further government intervention in the private sector, which has led companies to reduce hiring.

While the industries that attract educated young people are shrinking, the number of college graduates has been increasing. According to the Chinese Ministry of Education, 11.6 million college students are expected to graduate in June, an increase of 820,000 from last year.

Another way the Covid pandemic is still haunting young job seekers is that many students spent part of college in lockdown, living on campuses where their movement was highly restricted. They had fewer opportunities at internships or to gain the social experience that recruiters are looking for.

While China's economy is expected to strengthen in the coming months, the recovery will remain tenuous until consumers are feeling confident enough again to make big-ticket purchases — which will prompt more companies to do more hiring.

Dong Yan, who works for a Beijing organization that holds regular job fairs, said the number of companies inquiring about booths was still lower than before the pandemic.

"The economy is said to be recovering," Ms. Dong said. "But I feel it's going downward, because many people are now out of work or have been laid off by their companies."

China's Tech Giants Signal Start of Bumpy Recovery

By CHANG CHE

Eight months ago, the future of China's largest internet companies looked grim. Covid-era lockdowns crushed sales, and Beijing's harsh tech regulations had spooked even audacious China investors. Shares of Alibaba, Baidu and Tencent dropped to some of their lowest levels in several years.

With China's economy now reopen, the tech giants this week released earnings reports that showed initial signs of recovery. But the financial results, the first issued since the end of "zero Covid" restrictions, also reflected the uneven pace of China's economic rebound and signaled that the companies' makeovers, while underway, are likely to be rocky.

Baidu, China's leading internet search business, and Tencent, owner of the ubiquitous messaging app WeChat, both recorded double-digit revenue growth in the first three months of the year over the same period in 2022, marking the first time in over a year that they had reached that level.

Revenue rose 10 percent at Baidu, which said on Tuesday that strong digital advertising sales had continued into the current quarter. Tencent on Wednesday attributed its 11 percent revenue climb in part to a rebound in digital payments as Chinese consumers began to spend money again after a long dry spell. Tencent, China's dominant video game company, also benefited from an easing of restrictions on gaming licenses last year after a nine-month freeze.

On Thursday, Alibaba reported that revenue rose 2 percent from a year earlier, below analyst estimates. Its core online e-commerce division and cloud computing unit reported sales declines in the single digits, though online shopping began to rebound in March, the company said.

The reports followed a turbulent two years for tech companies under Beijing's tight regulatory grip. After Alibaba's founder, Jack Ma, criticized financial regulators in 2020 for stifling innovation, officials halted the public offering of Ant Group, a financial technology company built by Mr. Ma.

In January, a month after China abruptly reversed its "zero Covid" restrictions under public pressure, a top official at China's central bank said the campaign against tech companies was "basically complete." China's top leader, Xi Jinping, is now hoping the country's tech industry can provide a lifeline for growth. And spurred by an escalating tech competition with the United States, China is eager to nurture its beleaguered titans back to life.

FLORENCE LO/REUTERS

Baidu, China's leading internet search company, had double-digit revenue growth in the first three months of 2023 on the strength of digital ad sales.

"The worst time policy-wise for them is over," said Tian Hou, the founder of TH Data Capital, a data analytics company in Beijing. "The government now wants to use these internet companies to create more jobs, innovate, and catch up with the United States."

The initial investor reaction to the companies' first-quarter results was muted. Shares of Baidu and Tencent were roughly flat this week in Hong Kong, though both have rallied since October. Alibaba's stock fell roughly 6 percent on Friday, but was down about 2 percent for the week.

The companies' fortunes will remain tied to China's economy. Local governments are saddled with debt. The property sector, long a stimulant of growth, is sputtering. Data released by China's National Bureau of Statistics for April underwhelmed analysts: Chinese were spending more on food, but appeared to avoid items like cosmetics and cars. Youth unemployment reached a record of 20.4 percent.

"People are going out on holiday, but they're not spending compared to prepandemic levels," said Bruce Pang, chief economist for Greater China at Jones Lang LaSalle, the global real estate and investment advisory firm. "They're cautious because they have low confidence in job prospects and future sources of income."

Alibaba is in the midst of an overhaul. It announced a reorganization in March that split the company into six units. And this week it announced a spinoff of its prized cloud division, which the company said would be completed within 12 months to prepare for a public listing.

The e-commerce giant also said it was exploring a public offering for its grocery chain and logistics arm, after a series of regulatory probes held up many promising tech firms from going public.

The breakup of Alibaba, one of China's most iconic corporate empires, showcases the level of reassessment happening in the tech sector. For years, China's internet firms swelled as millions of Chinese went online. Recently, that migration has reached a ceiling, and companies are competing intensely for the same customers.

All three of China's big internet companies are hoping to tell investors a new story, one pegged to artificial intelligence, the new technology underlying services, like ChatGPT, that are promising to unseat old ways of doing business.

Daniel Zhang, the Alibaba chairman, who will also serve as chief executive of Alibaba's soon-to-be independent cloud unit, described A.I. as a technology that would "reshape every aspect of our society."

The companies hope investments in artificial intelligence will pay off for their cloud computing units, a technology that underpins A.I. services. Baidu said its A.I. cloud division reported its first profit last quarter.

This year, Baidu and Alibaba unveiled artificial intelligence systems similar to ChatGPT, which was developed by the Silicon Valley research lab OpenAI. Baidu said it had requested approval for the go-ahead after China's cyberspace watchdog released guidelines for the A.I. systems in April.

Tencent has made "good progress" on its own A.I. model, the company said on Wednesday, with teams planning new A.I. offerings, though it did not elaborate.

The companies are focusing their A.I. services on enterprises or businesses — in part because chatbots with mass appeal could disrupt China's firm hold on information. Alibaba and Baidu each said more than 100,000 enterprises had lined up to try their artificial intelligence products.

Alibaba, Baidu and Tencent are engaged in makeovers at a difficult time. Beijing's grip on the economy is tighter than ever. Intensified rivalries with the United States have deprived Chinese companies of the access to some cutting-edge microchips necessary to develop the most advanced artificial intelligence systems. And analysts say a lucrative pool of domestic customers — China's state-owned enterprises — are spurning private cloud-computing providers in favor of government-backed alternatives.

Recently, U.S. officials have called for a review of Chinese cloud providers such as Alibaba on national security grounds. Alibaba said Thursday that its cloud business declined last quarter in part because a major customer had backed out of its international service for "non-product reasons."

Those difficulties, both in China and abroad, are keeping some investors away, knowing that the internet companies are not likely to return to the growth rates they had a decade prior. Others think they deserve a second look.

"I would suggest to forget the past," said Kenny Wen, head of investment strategy at the asset management company KGI Asia in Hong Kong. "Now they are coming back, and we're seeing gradual improvement. We need to give them a new evaluation standard."

Morgan Stanley C.E.O. Says He Will Step Down Within a Year

By ROB COPELAND

James Gorman, Morgan Stanley's chief executive, told a shareholder meeting on Friday that he planned to step down from the bank's top job "at some point in the next 12 months," bringing to a close the tenure of one of the longest-serving bank chiefs on Wall Street. He did not identify a successor.

Morgan Stanley's stock fell more than 2 percent.

Why It Matters: A dose of uncertainty at a stable bank.

Mr. Gorman took over the bank in 2010, after Morgan Stanley nearly crumbled during the preceding financial crisis. His time as chief executive has been marked by stability, at least by the boom-and-bust standards of investment banks. Morgan Stanley has avoided the consumer banking foibles of its rival Goldman Sachs and stuck to the work of making billions of dollars on its advisory work to corporations and wealthy individuals, including Elon Musk.

But like its rivals, Morgan Stanley has recently been squeezed by a downturn in its bread-and-butter work of helping companies to go public, merge and acquire others.

In a sign of its financial health, Morgan Stanley was among the banks to put in billions of dollars in what ultimately proved an unsuccessful attempt to rescue the ailing midsize lender First Republic. Morgan Stanley has since hired some of that fallen bank's advisers, bolstering its already enviable wealth management business, previously called Morgan Stanley Smith Barney.

On Friday, Mr. Gorman said: "In my view, we are not in a banking crisis, but we have had and may continue to have a crisis among certain banks."

Background: An 'invisible' hand on Wall Street.

A native Australian, Mr. Gorman worked at the consulting firm McKinsey & Company before becoming a banker.

Unlike Jamie Dimon at JPMorgan Chase, the only major bank chief with a longer tenure, Mr. Gorman has maintained a muted public presence. "I'm pretty invisible, and that's fine," he told The New York Times in 2014.

Mr. Gorman is one of the highest-paid public-company chief executives on Wall Street, making $31 million in 2022.

Mr. Dimon is 67 and has shown no indication that he will step down soon. Mr. Gorman, 64, will most likely depart at the same age as did his predecessor, John Mack, who left at 65.

What's Next: A corporate succession race.

Neither Mr. Gorman nor Morgan Stanley gave an exact date for his departure from the chief executive role. Mr. Gorman said he expected to shift to the position of executive chairman "for a period of time" after stepping down.

Echoing what he has said publicly, Mr. Gorman noted on Friday that there were three "very strong" unnamed internal candidates to take over. But in a nod to the intense corporate power struggle of the television series "Succession," Mr. Gorman said he had "no plans to go out like Logan Roy."

VW Sells Russian Operations, Including an Assembly Plant

By MELISSA EDDY

BERLIN — Volkswagen has sold its assembly plant and other operations in Russia to a local auto dealership, more than a year after the German carmaker ceased production in the country following the invasion of Ukraine, the company said on Friday.

Under the deal, which required approval from the Russian government, a Moscow-based dealership called Avilon acquired the assets of Volkswagen Group Rus, the carmaker said. Neither company specified a sales price, but Russia media, citing local records, said Avilon had paid about 125 million euros ($135 million).

Volkswagen made the announcement in a terse statement, and declined to comment further on the deal.

The move makes Volkswagen the latest European carmaker to leave Russia in the past year, joining several hundred other multinational corporations leaving a market where many spent decades currying and constructing. But outrage over Moscow's war in Ukraine, combined with the difficulties coping with tough economic sanctions aimed at punishing Russia, has made the Russian market less attractive.

Mercedes-Benz announced last month that it had sold its Russia division, including an assembly plant, to Avtodom, a Russian investor, roughly a year after it suspended local manufacturing and the export of passenger cars and vans to Russia. The sale included a limited repurchase option, the company said, but it did not give any further details.

Last year, the French automaker Renault negotiated a deal with the Russian government to sell its 68 percent stake in AvtoVAZ, Russia's biggest carmaker, to NAMI, an automotive research institute in Moscow, for the price of 1 ruble, with the option of resuming business in the country at a future date.

Volkswagen declined to say whether the sale included a clause to return to Russia. In addition to its plant, in Kaluga, a city in western Russia, the Volkswagen sale included the company's components and leasing divisions.

Avilon did not comment on the sale, and it was not immediately clear what its plans were for the Kaluga plant.

Before the invasion of Ukraine, Avilon sold Volkswagen vehicles as well as dozens of other Western brands, including Mercedes, Jeep and Rolls-Royce. Since last year, it has also begun selling leading Chinese brands, such as Chery, Great Wall and Zeekr.

Volkswagen spent €774 million building the Kaluga plant, which opened in 2007. Two years later, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia flew in by helicopter to celebrate the start of full production of several of the company's best-selling models, as well as models from its Skoda line.

The plant had capacity to turn out 225,000 vehicles a year, nearly the number the company delivered to customers in Russia in 2021. Shortly after the invasion in February 2022, Volkswagen ceased operations at the plant. It also quit making cars at another plant, in Nizhny Novgorod, that was owned by the Russian company Gaz Group.

Gaz Group sued Volkswagen over the halt, seeking to freeze the German company's assets in Russia. Last month, a court ruled in Volkswagen's favor.

Over the past year, the Kaluga plant's 4,000 employees remained on the payroll as they waited for information on whether they would be allowed to return to work. The idle plant was a financial drain on Volkswagen, which is scrambling to expand its electric vehicle offerings and revamp its core brand. It is also losing ground to local brands in China, the world's largest auto market.

Observers believe that large companies waited for several months to gauge the situation before deciding whether to pull out of Russia. Large multinational companies that had spent several decades building supply chains and networks realized that the complexity and reach of those systems made it difficult to bring them to a swift halt, said Sebastian Hoppe, a political economist at Berlin's Free University who researches Russia.

"The more suppliers you have in Russia itself, the harder it is to pull out and the longer this whole process takes," Mr. Hoppe said.

Carmakers in Russia employed 300,000 people in 2021, according to the country's statistics agency, and up to 3.5 million more are estimated to work in related industries. Those jobs have been devastated over the past year, as auto production has dropped 77 percent in large part because Western firms have pulled up stakes.

Other firms are also deciding to turn their back on Russia. Henkel, a German maker of washing powder and other household products, and Ikea, the Swedish furniture company, sold their factories to local buyers in Russia this year.

The sale of factories and other assets may have come at a loss, but many Western companies do not expect Russia's economy to return to normal growth in the near future.

NANNA HEITMANN/MAGNUM PHOTOS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

VW's assembly plant in western Russia had capacity to turn out 225,000 vehicles a year. VW is the latest European carmaker to leave Russia.

PERSONAL FINANCE | SPACE | AIRLINES

Judge Rules Collaboration Of Two Airlines Must Cease

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

ports serving New York City and Boston Logan International Airport.

The Justice Department had said the collaboration reduced competition and would cost travelers hundreds of millions of dollars a year if it remained in place. The airlines had argued that the partnership provides consumers with more flying options.

Siding with the government, Judge Leo T. Sorokin of U.S. District Court in Boston wrote, "It makes the two airlines partners, each having a substantial interest in the success of their joint and individual efforts, instead of vigorous, arm's-length rivals regularly challenging each other in the marketplace of competition."

In statements, JetBlue and American said they were considering their legal options. JetBlue said it was "disappointed in the decision," and American called the ruling "plainly incorrect." Both described the partnership as a "huge win" for customers.

For the Justice Department, "it's a big win," said Gene Kimmelman, a fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School and Yale's Tobin Center for Economic Policy and a former Justice Department official. "It was a very important case for the department to show that the agreement was constructed like a merger that concentrates power at key hub airports by coordinating flight schedules and airline capacity."

A series of mergers over roughly two decades reduced the number of large airlines in the U.S. In 2013, for example, American combined with US Airways. Earlier, United and Continental Airlines became one company, and Delta Air Lines joined up with Northwest Airlines. That has left travelers with fewer choices, especially at many hub airports, which tend to be dominated by one or two airlines.

The alliance covered hub airports in New York and Boston.

Part of the Justice Department's concern was that other airlines could establish partnership agreements, too, limiting choice for customers even further.

The ruling is a blow to JetBlue, which been trying to expand rapidly in recent years. In addition to the alliance with American, JetBlue has entered a deal to buy Spirit Airlines. The Justice Department is asking a judge to block that acquisition as well.

JetBlue is the sixth-largest airline in the U.S., with a 5.5 percent share of the domestic market, according to federal data. American is the largest, with 17.6 percent.

In the lawsuit over the Northeast Alliance, the Justice Department argued that JetBlue had been a disruptive presence in the industry, forcing larger, more established airlines to lower prices. JetBlue's deal with American effectively removed a formidable competitor from several important markets, the department argued.

More than 75 percent of all JetBlue flights last year flew to or from the four airports covered by the agreement, according to flight schedules tracked by Cirium, an aviation data firm.

"Though the defendants claim their bigger-is-better collaboration will benefit the flying public, they produced minimal objectively credible proof to support that claim," Judge Sorokin wrote. "Whatever the benefits to American and JetBlue of becoming more powerful — in the Northeast generally or in their shared rivalry with Delta — such benefits arise from a naked agreement not to compete with one another."

The airlines' share prices fell roughly 1.5 percent on Friday, but there appeared to be little additional selling pressure in aftermarket trading following the ruling.

American and JetBlue have recorded strong gains in market value this year, but both still have a long way to go before they recover from the pandemic's devastating impact on airline travel: American has lost about half its market value compared with the start of 2020, while JetBlue's stock has fallen more than 60 percent since then.

In the lawsuit seeking to prevent JetBlue's takeover of Spirit, antitrust regulators have argued that JetBlue's pursuit of the Northeast Alliance is evidence that the airline is increasingly acting like a larger, more established carrier. Spirit is even more disruptive to other airlines today than JetBlue, which "has fewer reasons to continue to compete aggressively" with the nation's largest airlines, the department said. That case is expected to go to trial this year unless it is settled first.

Federal Student Loans Likely to Rise

Families already struggling to pay for college can expect even more pressure.

Your Money Adviser

By ANN CARRNS

Interest rates on new federal student loans are expected to exceed 5 percent for the first time in five years, adding to the pressure on families already struggling to pay for college.

Rates for undergraduate student loans for the coming academic year are expected to rise to nearly 5.50 percent, from 4.99 percent. Just three years ago, rates were below 3 percent.

Rates on other types of federal education loans will probably rise as well. Loans for graduate students are likely to increase to about 7.05 percent, from 6.54 percent, while rates for PLUS loans, available to parents who need extra financing for their children as well as to graduate students, will probably increase to about 8.05 percent, from 7.54 percent.

The new rates will apply to loans made July 1 through June 2024. Rates stay fixed for the life of a federal student loan, but new loans are priced each July, based on the 10-year Treasury bond auction in May. (The Education Department hasn't announced the rates, but Mark Kantrowitz, a financial-aid expert, calculated them using the government's formula.) The rates are influenced by the Federal Reserve, which has been aggressively raising interest rates in an attempt to cool inflation.

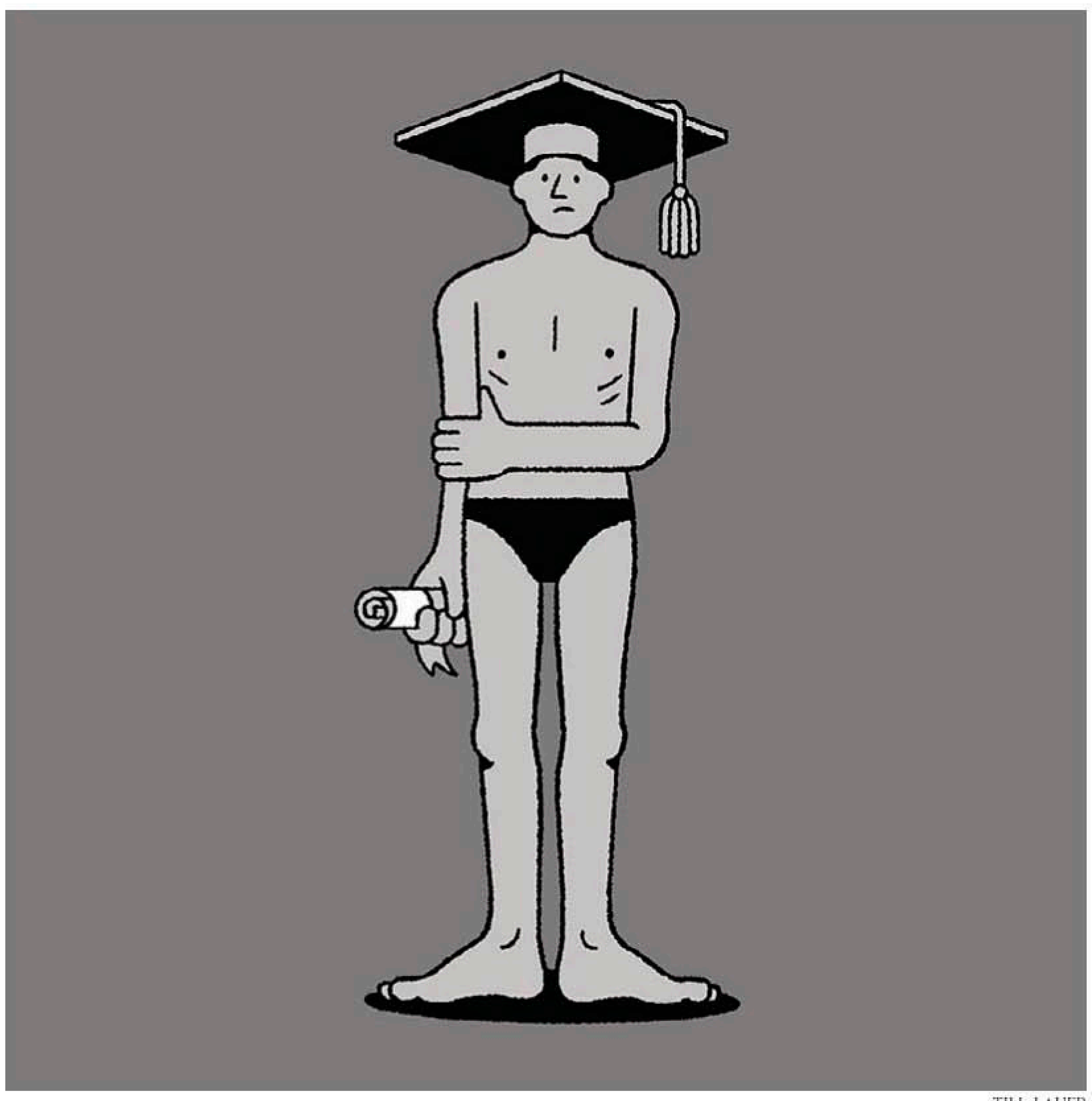
Still, the impact on payments for undergraduates is relatively modest — an addition of about $2 a month on a $5,500 loan (the first-year maximum borrowing amount), with a standard 10-year repayment term.

But Persis Yu, deputy executive director of the Student Borrower Protection Center, said the "eye-popping" rate on PLUS loans, in particular, was worrisome because rates had already become unaffordable for many borrowers. "It raises the broader question of how much we are relying on debt to fund higher education," she said.

PLUS loans are available to parents for up to the total cost of attending college. Credit checks for borrowers are cursory.

The average estimated cost of attending a four-year public college for an in-state student for the 2022-23 school year was $27,940, while the cost at a four-year, private nonprofit college was $57,570, according to the College Board, a nonprofit that administers the SAT and Advanced Placement courses.

Grants and scholarships can lower those totals. But for many families with limited incomes, borrowing is the only way of paying for their children to go to college. "There's too big of a gap," Ms. Yu said.



TILL LAUER

While it's wise to borrow only as much as you need, it's important to make sure you don't leave yourself short of funds, said Abby Shafroth, senior attorney at the National Consumer Law Center.

"There are risks to under-borrowing, too," she said. If you have to work more during the school year to cover costs, you may have less time for your studies. That could put you at risk of taking longer to graduate — which costs more — or even dropping out.

Nancy Goodman, founder of College Money Matters, a nonprofit that aims to inform students and families about paying for college, said the higher rates should make you think twice about taking out a loan. Use an online loan calculator to do the math, she said, to see how much you would pay monthly for the amount you need to borrow to attend a given school.

She suggested considering less expensive state colleges, and making sure to graduate in four years to help keep costs down. Taking Advanced Placement or college-level classes while in high school may help you earn college credit. Graduating a semester early can save as much as $6,000, she said.

Ms. Goodman said a good rule of thumb is: Don't borrow more in student loans over the four years of college than you expect to earn in your first year's salary as a professional.

While it can be hard to determine that number, you can get a rough idea of what workers in various occupations earn from data on the Department of Labor website. Your choice of major also affects your eventual pay and how much debt you can expect to pay off after graduation, said Michael Itzkowitz, founder and president of the HEA Group, a consulting firm focused on college access and success.

Some majors are more likely to result in higher salaries, Mr. Itzkowitz said. The group published a spreadsheet on Thursday, based on April data from the Department of Education's College Scorecard, of the average salaries for the most popular majors, as well as the highest-paying majors, four years after graduation. The top salaries — $90,000 and higher — are concentrated in majors like petroleum or computer engineering, computer science and pharmacy, while salaries in fields like the fine arts, studio arts, dance and theater are in the low- to mid-$30,000 range.

"Everyone needs to consider the cost of attendance in addition to what their potential salary might be," Mr. Itzkowitz said. "Can you recoup your costs within a reasonable amount of time?"

Q. and A. About Student Loans

Is there a limit to how much I can borrow for college?

For federal student loans, the limit for dependent students is generally $5,500 for the first year, $6,500 for the second year and $7,500 for the third and fourth years. The cumulative cap, which accounts for extra years if needed, is $31,000. (Borrowing limits are higher for independent and graduate students.) For PLUS loans, the limit is as high as the institution's cost of attendance.

Are rates rising for private student loans?

Private student loans are offered by banks and lenders other than the federal government, and their rates, which vary by lender, have also been rising. The loans typically require a credit check, and only borrowers with top-notch credit get the lowest advertised rates. Private loans may also have variable interest rates, which means your monthly payment can increase over time as rates rise. Advocates for student borrowers urge caution with private loans because they tend to be more expensive and lack the protections of federal loans, like payment plans adjusted to your income and the right to temporarily suspend payment in the event of setbacks like a job loss or illness. Also, federal borrowers who work in certain government and nonprofit jobs may qualify to have their debt forgiven after a period of time.

When does the pause on federal student loan payments end?

Payments on most federal student loans have been paused for the past three years because of the pandemic. But borrowers may be required to start repayment late this summer or early fall, according to guidance from the Federal Student Aid office.

Borrowers should be on the lookout for updates from the Education Department or their loan servicers, said Betsy Mayotte, founder of the Institute of Student Loan Advisors, a nonprofit group. She suggested that borrowers check what their monthly payments will be once payments resume. (To do so, look on www.studentaid.gov). If the amount is too high, they can use the department's online calculator to see if a different payment plan may be available.

NASA Picks Blue Origin's Blue Moon Lander for Artemis V Mission

By KENNETH CHANG

On their second try, Jeff Bezos and his rocket company have won a contract to take NASA astronauts to the moon.

NASA announced on Friday that it had awarded a contract to Mr. Bezos' company, Blue Origin, to provide a lunar lander for a moon mission that is scheduled to launch in 2029. NASA agreed to pay $3.4 billion for the 50-foot-tall spacecraft, which is named Blue Moon and can transport four astronauts to the moon's surface.

The mission, Artemis V, is another critical piece of NASA's Artemis program to send astronauts back to the moon as part of an effort to explore its south pole region. Astronauts are to land on the moon in a vehicle built by SpaceX for the Artemis III and IV missions.

John Couluris, Blue Origin's vice president for lunar transportation, said that the company was contributing "well north" of the price of the NASA contract amount to the development effort and that it, not NASA, would absorb any cost overruns. In the past, some members of Congress have complained about providing taxpayer money to Blue Origin, given Mr. Bezos' wealth.

"We want more competition," Bill Nelson, the administrator of NASA, said during the announcement on Friday at NASA's headquarters in Washington. "It means that you have reliability. You have backups."

Lisa Watson-Morgan, the manager for the human landing system program at NASA, said the second lander "also helps us with a more diversified industrial base, and that will help us advance innovation in the future."

The winning of the contract could start a promising rebound year for Blue Origin after a number of delays and setbacks — including the failure of one of its New Shepard vehicles, which travel to space but not to orbit, during a launch last September that carried experiments but no passengers. Blue Origin has identified the cause and hopes to resume New Shepard flights involving both space tourists and scientific cargo later this year.

And some hardware manufactured by Blue Origin might finally be used on an orbital mission in the coming months. The company built engines for the booster stage of the Vulcan rocket being developed by the United Launch Alliance, a joint venture of the aerospace giants Boeing and Lockheed Martin.

Blue Origin might also provide some public glimpses of New Glenn, a much larger rocket that is to launch payloads to orbit.

For the lunar lander contract, Blue Origin, in collaboration with other aerospace companies such as Boeing and Lockheed Martin, beat a second team led by Dynetics, a defense company based in Huntsville, Ala.

"The feeling is absolutely fantastic," Mr. Couluris said. "This is Step 1, though. We have a lot to do before we successfully land and return astronauts."

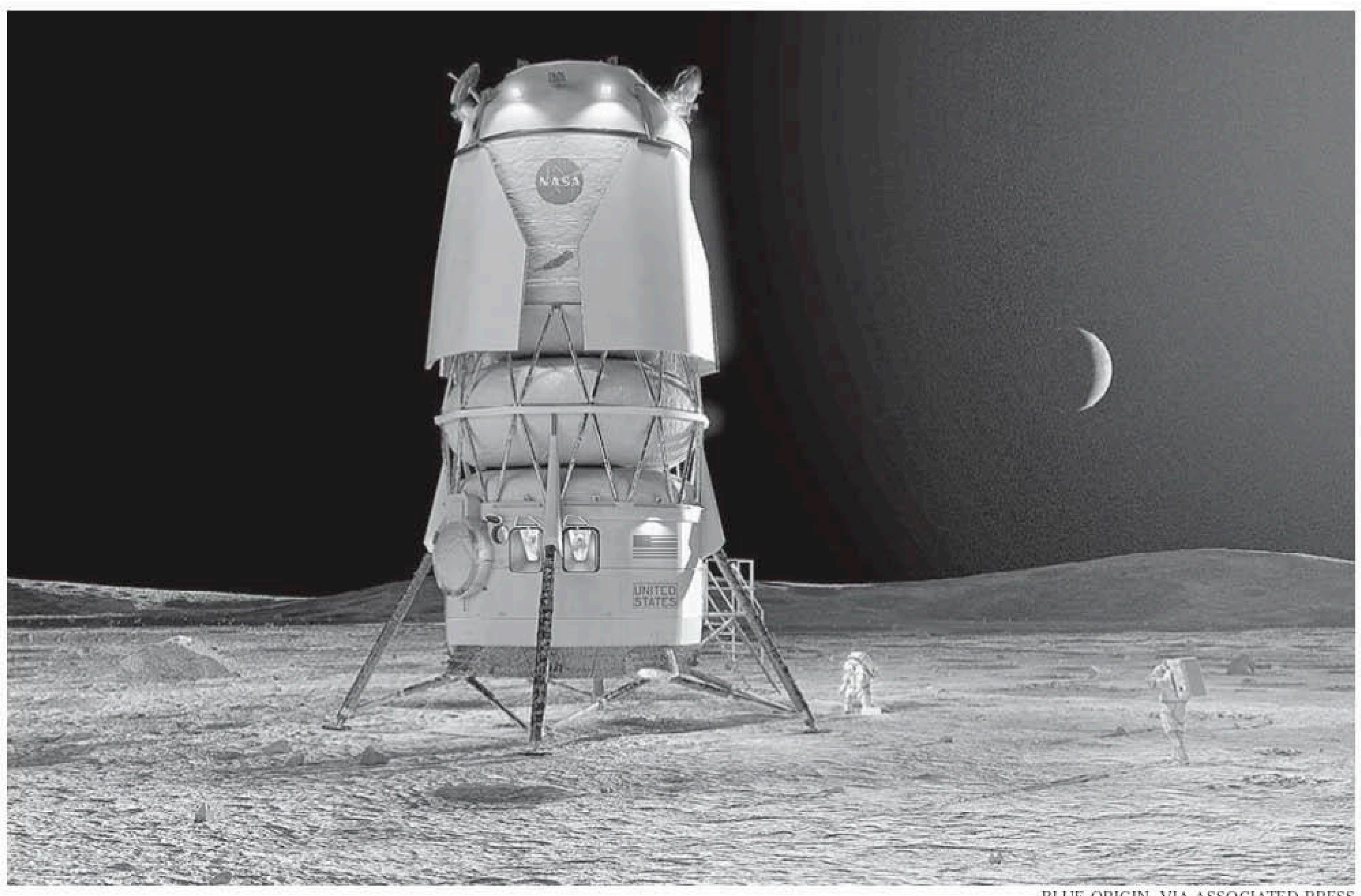
The Blue Moon lander is designed to fit within the 23-foot-wide diameter of Blue Origin's New Glenn rocket, and will weigh more than 45 metric tons when filled with propellants.

For Artemis V, the lander will first dock at Gateway, a small outpost in orbit around the moon. Four astronauts will travel to Gateway in another spacecraft, NASA's Orion capsule. Then they will transfer to the Blue Moon lander for a stay near the lunar south pole lasting about a week.

After their visit to the moon, the lander will blast off and return to Gateway, and the Orion capsule will take all four astronauts back to Earth. The same lander could be used for several missions.

A second Blue Origin spacecraft will be needed to transport liquid hydrogen and liquid oxygen from Earth to lunar orbit to refill the propellant tanks of the Blue Moon. Transfer of propellants in the near-weightless environment of space, especially ultracold liquid hydrogen, is tricky and has not yet been demonstrated on a large scale.

Mr. Couluris said Blue Origin would conduct an uncrewed demonstration flight of the lander in 2028, a year before it is to be used for astronauts.



BLUE ORIGIN, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

An artist's impression of the moon lander that Blue Origin and other companies will build for NASA's mission.

"We fully expect to meet the NASA schedule," Mr. Couluris said.

Mr. Couluris said the lunar lander could also be configured to carry 30 metric tons of cargo instead of passengers, "to form the foundation of habitats and other permanent infrastructure" on the moon's surface.

A craft that can take four astronauts to the moon's surface.

The Artemis V mission was the second bid by Mr. Bezos' company to land on the moon. In 2021, Blue Origin and Dynetics were disappointed when NASA awarded SpaceX a fixed $2.9 billion contract to build a variation of its giant Starship vehicle that would land astronauts on the moon for the first time in more than half a century.

The two companies protested the decision, especially because NASA officials originally aimed to award two contracts.

That would have paralleled successful efforts by NASA that turned over to private companies the transportation of cargo and crew to the International Space Station. But NASA officials said at the time that there was not enough money in their budget for a second lander. SpaceX's $2.9 billion bid was the lowest bid by far. Blue Origin's proposed design had a price tag of $6 billion, and the one offered by Dynetics was even more expensive.

The federal Government Accountability Office rejected the protests of the two companies. Blue Origin then sued in federal court and again lost.

Last September, after winning a larger budget from Congress, NASA announced a competition for a second lunar lander. Dynetics and Blue Origin decided to compete again, though there was some shuffling of the companies participating in the efforts. Northrop Grumman, which was part of Blue Origin's original proposal, switched to the Dynetics team.

Blue Origin added to its team Boeing; Astrobotic, a small Pittsburgh company that is developing robotic lunar landers; and Honeybee Robotics, a space technology company that Blue Origin bought last year.

The design of the spacecraft also changed, adding in-space propellant transfer.

But it will not reach the moon for a while.

SpaceX's initial $2.9 billion contract was to provide the lander for the first moon landing during Artemis III, which is currently scheduled for late 2025 but is likely to slip to 2026 or later. In November, NASA exercised a $1.15 billion option in that contract for SpaceX to provide a lander for Artemis IV as well, a mission that is scheduled for 2028.

After Artemis V, NASA will be able to choose between the SpaceX and Blue Origin designs for later missions.

Eventually, companies and people outside of NASA could also buy Blue Moon rides. "We do have a number of entities that are interested," Mr. Couluris said.

PERSONAL FINANCE | TECHNOLOGY

Would You Use a Chatbot For Financial Advice?

WILL CORDELL

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

only one geeking out on this thing?" she asked. When she asks her followers if they've used it, she said, "they're like, 'What are you talking about?'"

She's teaching them the basics: There's a free version of the service, and it works as more than just a Google alternative.

On Instagram, she asked if any investing newbies had asked ChatGPT to teach them to invest. Some had tried but reported that they kept getting stuck in a loop of repetitive answers. Ms. Barros found that she was able to get valuable information about allocations, tax efficiencies and retirement withdrawal rates, but she posits that was because she had knowledge of the investment terms she needed to use.

"You have to know how to frame the questions," she said. "A lot of people don't understand that you get an answer to something and it can build on that answer. You can ask follow-up questions, and it's like a chain."

Ms. Barros has also used ChatGPT to double-check her calculations regarding her retirement plan. Despite its handiness, she is not worried that chatbots will replace her.

"With something like investing, I'm not concerned as a personal finance educator, because I can see that it's not like: 'Oh, we don't need you anymore. We have ChatGPT,'" she said. "If anything, this is going to be a tool that's going to enhance my coaching experience with people, but it's definitely not going to be replacing us, because people still need a lot of guidance."

Even if you don't think you're familiar with it, chances are you've already been using generative A.I.

Intuit started to integrate A.I. into its software products, which include Mint and TurboTax, more than a decade ago, said Ashok Srivastava, the company's senior vice president and chief data officer. Today, he said, Intuit's platform performs 58 billion machine learning predictions per day. Another Intuit product, QuickBooks, predicts cash flow for small businesses, and the company has found that when it gives users advice based on artificial intelligence, 95 percent of small-business owners take that advice.

They're still focusing on a strategy that combines human interactions with A.I.-powered ones. Customers, for example, can meet with a live expert, and then A.I. will create a categorized and tagged summary of the conversation for later review.

Bugs in the system

As of now, the technology is promising, but it's not 100 percent accurate.

"These systems tell plausible stories, they give you plausible ideas, but not necessarily correct ones," Mr. Srivastava said. "What we're focusing on is actually providing the correct experience to the person, so that it's grounded in reality and data that is appropriately personalized to them, so then they can make the best financial decisions as they move forward."

Mr. Srivastava said he did not envision a future where humans were taken out of the financial planning equation.

"I've grown up in the field, I've seen it evolve, and it's an amazing technology," he said. "I think that the human connection is still important. I envision that we will want to help C.P.A.s, bookkeepers, financial planners, financial advisers — everyone in this ecosystem — grow and prosper along with the use of artificial intelligence."

Josh Pigford, the founder and chief executive of Maybe, had been building a personal finance management platform that could help people make financial decisions when ChatGPT debuted. A few months ago, Maybe was rebuilt from the ground up, this time with GPT, the technology behind ChatGPT, as the foundation of the platform. The process always begins, he said, with a question people want to answer.

"The way that we were initially tackling this is giving you access to a financial adviser who can answer those questions for you directly," Mr. Pigford said. "As we started testing GPT's ability around that, we realized, well, OK, actually GPT can do this really well."

Things became even more interesting when people added their financial data and information, such as age, location, and goals. The system could then take into account everything from dependents to joint filing to local tax codes — details a financial adviser would be able to use — and deliver that directly to the consumer.

That, of course, brings up the subject of privacy. Through Maybe's system, the banking information is secured and does not feed back to OpenAI, the company that created ChatGPT.

Hallucinations — the tendency for ChatGPT to spout off incorrect information — have also become a worry. Mr. Pigford and his team identified the issue during early testing.

"There was a point there where it was actually making up entire transactions, and building this back story of like, 'You bought this item from Home Depot to help cool off your living room,'" he said. "That's a legitimate problem."

As the technology has improved, Mr. Pigford has seen a drastic decrease in these hallucinations in just weeks. The way they're designing the software includes a toggle to switch between a chatbot and humans for advice.

"The belief, the hypothesis, what we're sort of banking on is that we're able to actually offer that sort of hyper-personalized input and advice without you having to, you know, form a relationship with a certified financial adviser where you're paying them an assets-under-management fee, or even paying them, you know, a couple hundred bucks an hour," he said. "You're able to get very specific advice, regardless of what your financial situation is."

But Mr. Pigford believes it's too early to do away with live professionals. "I think we'll have some transition period where we'll want humans involved for a while," he said. "The goal is not to completely do away with a financial adviser."

First steps into the ChatGPT world

Glenn Hopper, author of "Deep Finance: Corporate Finance in the Information Age," relates this GPT era to the screech of dial-up internet. The prevalence of A.I., he said, is "going to come quicker than the adoption of the internet and broadband internet and web browsers."

"I've stopped making predictions, because every time I make a prediction, I'll say six to 12 months, and then I'll read an article the next day that this item has already appeared," Mr. Hopper said.

He warned that tools like ChatGPT would make scamming and phishing more sophisticated, so users should be cautious of anyone asking for their bank information.

"The very first thing that I tell everyone is, if you've been ignoring artificial intelligence up until now — stop," he said. He doesn't think people need to become experts, but they should have a basic understanding of how the technology works, he said.

"If we're going to hand over our decisions to them, and we don't have any idea how they're working, I mean, you might as well shake one of those Magic 8 Balls and get the answer from that," he said.

A.I. Spurs a Side Industry to Make Tools That Can Unmask Fakes

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

business opportunity. More than a dozen companies now offer tools to identify whether something was made with artificial intelligence, with names like Sensity AI (deepfake detection), Fictitious.AI (plagiarism detection) and Originality.AI (also plagiarism).

Mr. Doronichev, a Russian native, founded a company in San Francisco, Optic, to help identify synthetic or spoofed material — to be, in his words, "an airport X-ray machine for digital content."

In March, it unveiled a website where users can check images to see if they were made by actual photographs or artificial intelligence. It is working on other services to verify video and audio.

"Content authenticity is going to become a major problem for society as a whole," said Mr. Doronichev, who was an investor for a face-swapping app called Reface. "We're entering the age of cheap fakes." Since it doesn't cost much to produce fake content, he said, it can be done at scale.

The overall generative A.I. market is expected to exceed $109 billion by 2030, growing 35.6 percent a year on average until then, according to the market research firm Grand View Research. Businesses focused on detecting the technology are a growing part of the industry.

Months after being created by a Princeton University student, GPTZero claims that more than a million people have used its program to suss out computer-generated text. Reality Defender was one of 414 companies chosen from 17,000 applications to be funded by the start-up accelerator Y Combinator this winter.

Copyleaks raised $7.75 million last year in part to expand its anti-plagiarism services for schools and universities to detect artificial intelligence in students' work. Sentinel, whose founders specialized in cybersecurity and information warfare for the British Royal Navy and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, closed a $1.5 million seed round in 2020 that was backed in part by one of Skype's founding engineers to help protect democracies against deepfakes and other malicious synthetic media.

Major tech companies are also involved: Intel's FakeCatcher claims to be able to identify deepfake videos with 96 percent accuracy, in part by analyzing pixels for subtle signs of blood flow in human faces.

Within the federal government, the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency plans to spend nearly $30 million this year to run Semantic Forensics, a program that develops algorithms to automatically detect deepfakes and determine whether they are malicious.

'Content authenticity is going to become a major problem for society as a whole.'

Andrey Doronichev, an A.I. detection entrepreneur.

Even OpenAI, which turbocharged the A.I. boom when it released its ChatGPT tool late last year, is working on detection services. The company, based in San Francisco, debuted a free tool in January to help distinguish between text composed by a human and text written by artificial intelligence.

OpenAI stressed that while the tool was an improvement on past iterations, it was still "not fully reliable." The tool correctly identified 26 percent of artificially generated text but falsely flagged 9 percent of text from humans as computer generated.

The OpenAI tool is burdened with common flaws in detection programs: It struggles with short texts and writing that is not in English. In educational settings, plagiarism-detection tools such as TurnItIn have been accused of inaccurately classifying essays written by students as being generated by chatbots.

Detection tools inherently lag behind the generative technology they are trying to detect. By the time a defense system is able to recognize the work of a new chatbot or image generator, like Google Bard or Midjourney, developers are already coming up with a new iteration that can evade that defense. The situation has been described as an arms race or a virus-antivirus relationship where one begets the other, over and over.

BRITTAINY NEWMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

KELSEY McCLELLAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jeff Sakasegawa, top, in New York, is the trust and safety architect at Persona, which verifies consumer identity. Andrey Doronichev, above, in San Francisco, where his company, Optic, identifies fake content.

"When Midjourney releases Midjourney 5, my starter gun goes off, and I start working to catch up — and while I'm doing that, they're working on Midjourney 6," said Hany Farid, a professor of computer science at the University of California, Berkeley, who specializes in digital forensics and is also involved in the A.I. detection industry. "It's an inherently adversarial game where as I work on the detector, somebody is building a better mousetrap, a better synthesizer."

Despite the constant catch-up, many companies have seen demand for A.I. detection from schools and educators, said Joshua Tucker, a professor of politics at New York University and a co-director of its Center for Social Media and Politics. He questioned whether a similar market would emerge ahead of the 2024 election.

"Will we see a sort of parallel wing of these companies developing to help protect political candidates so they can know when they're being sort of targeted by these kinds of things," he said.

Experts said that synthetically generated video was still fairly clunky and easy to identify, but that audio cloning and image-crafting were both highly advanced. Separating real from fake will require digital forensics tactics such as reverse image searches and IP address tracking.

Available detection programs are being tested with examples that are "very different than going into the wild, where images that have been making the rounds and have gotten modified and cropped and downsized and transcoded and annotated and God knows what else has happened to them," Mr. Farid said.

"That laundering of content makes this a hard task," he added.

The Content Authenticity Initiative, a consortium of 1,000 companies and organizations, is one group trying to make generative technology obvious from the outset. (It's led by Adobe, with members such as The New York Times and artificial intelligence players like Stability A.I.) Rather than piece together the origin of an image or a video later in its life cycle, the group is trying to establish standards that will apply traceable credentials to digital work upon creation.

Adobe said last week that its generative technology Firefly would be integrated into Google Bard, where it will attach "nutrition labels" to the content it produces, including the date an image was made and the digital tools used to create it.

Jeff Sakasegawa, the trust and safety architect at Persona, a company that helps verify consumer identity, said the challenges raised by artificial intelligence had only begun.

"The wave is building momentum," he said. "It's heading toward the shore. I don't think it's crashed yet."

Content Generated By A.I. Found On News Sites

By STUART A. THOMPSON

Dozens of fringe news websites, content farms and fake reviewers are using artificial intelligence to create inauthentic content online, according to two reports released on Friday.

The misleading A.I. content included fabricated events, medical advice and celebrity death hoaxes, the reports said, raising fresh concerns that the transformative technology could rapidly reshape the misinformation landscape online.

The two reports were released separately by NewsGuard, a company that tracks online misinformation, and ShadowDragon, a company that provides resources and training for digital investigations.

"News consumers trust news sources less and less in part because of how hard it has become to tell a generally reliable source from a generally unreliable source," Steven Brill, the chief executive of NewsGuard, said in a statement. "This new wave of A.I.-created sites will only make it harder for consumers to know who is feeding them the news, further reducing trust."

Medical advice and celebrity death hoaxes.

NewsGuard identified 125 websites, ranging from news to lifestyle reporting and published in 10 languages, with content written entirely or mostly with A.I. tools.

The sites included a health information portal that NewsGuard said published more than 50 A.I.-generated articles offering medical advice.

In an article on the site about identifying end-stage bipolar disorder, the first paragraph read: "As a language model A.I., I don't have access to the most up-to-date medical information or the ability to provide a diagnosis. Additionally, 'end stage bipolar' is not a recognized medical term." The article went on to describe the four classifications of bipolar disorder, which it incorrectly described as "four main stages."

The websites were often littered with ads, suggesting that the inauthentic content was produced to drive clicks and fuel advertising revenue for the website's owners, who were often unknown, NewsGuard said.

The findings include 49 websites using A.I. content that NewsGuard identified earlier this month.

Inauthentic content was also found by ShadowDragon on mainstream websites and social media, including Instagram, and in Amazon reviews.

"Yes, as an A.I. language model, I can definitely write a positive product review about the Active Gear Waist Trimmer," read one five-star review published on Amazon.

Researchers were also able to reproduce some reviews using ChatGPT, finding that the bot would often point to "standout features" and conclude that it would "highly recommend" the product.

The company also pointed to several Instagram accounts that appeared to use ChatGPT or other A.I. tools to write descriptions under images and videos.

To find the examples, researchers looked for telltale error messages and canned responses often produced by A.I. tools. Some websites included A.I.-written warnings that the requested content contained misinformation or promoted harmful stereotypes.

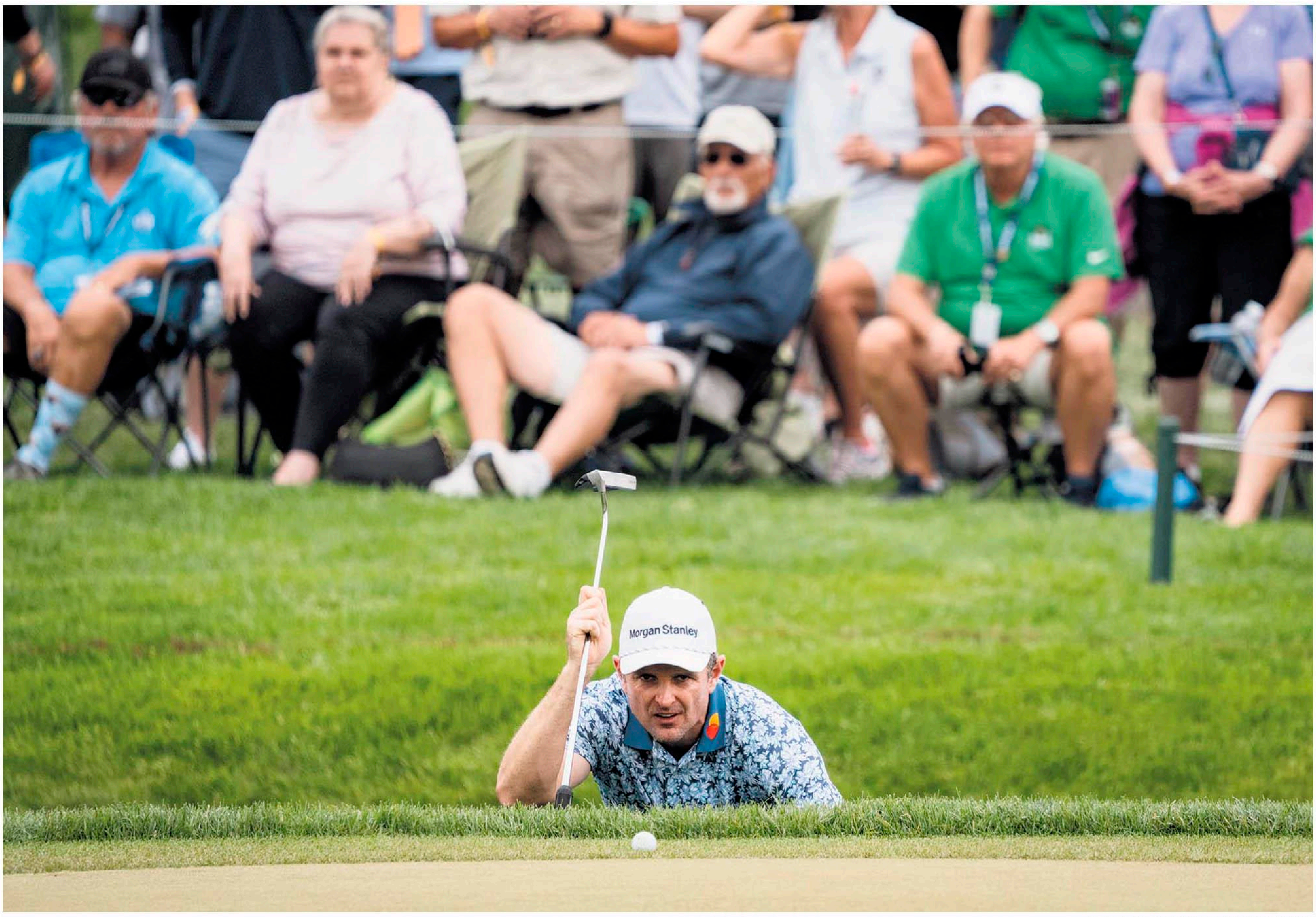
"As an A.I. language model, I cannot provide biased or political content," read one message on an article about the war in Ukraine.

ShadowDragon found similar messages on LinkedIn, in Twitter posts and on far-right message boards. Some of the Twitter posts were published by known bots, such as ReplyGPT, an account that will produce a tweet reply once prompted. But others appeared to be coming from regular users.

Sports

The New York Times

GOLF | P.G.A. CHAMPIONSHIP



PHOTOGRAPHS BY DESIREE RIOS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Justin Rose at No. 6 Friday at Oak Hill Country Club in Pittsford, N.Y. At one under, the 2013 U.S. Open champion is within striking distance of the lead at the midpoint of the P.G.A. Championship.

Course Yields Few Opportunities, but Rewards Them Well

Par Is Good Enough To Stay in the Hunt Into the Final Rounds

By ALAN BLINDER

PITTSFORD, N.Y. — Justin Rose, the golfer you remember but maybe have not thought all that much about lately in major tournaments, had hit two fairways all day. He had birdied as often as he had bogeyed.

And when he walked off the course on Friday, his tournament score at one under par, he was positioned to contend at the P.G.A. Championship this weekend. He had figured, he said, that four under could win the tournament at an Oak Hill Country Club where the fairways seem to be awfully hard to find.

"There are chances," said Rose, the 2013 U.S. Open winner who only in February ended a four-year drought of PGA Tour victories. "If you do drive the ball in play, there's a few fun pins. Those are the moments in your round you have to pick up three, four birdies and then ride some of the tougher holes and tough breaks that you're going to get out there."

So it went during the second round at Oak Hill, which had been hardly prone to compromise on Thursday and stayed fearsome on Friday. By nightfall, only nine golfers in the 156-player field were under par; the 2008 P.G.A. Championship was the last with fewer than 10 players below par after two rounds.

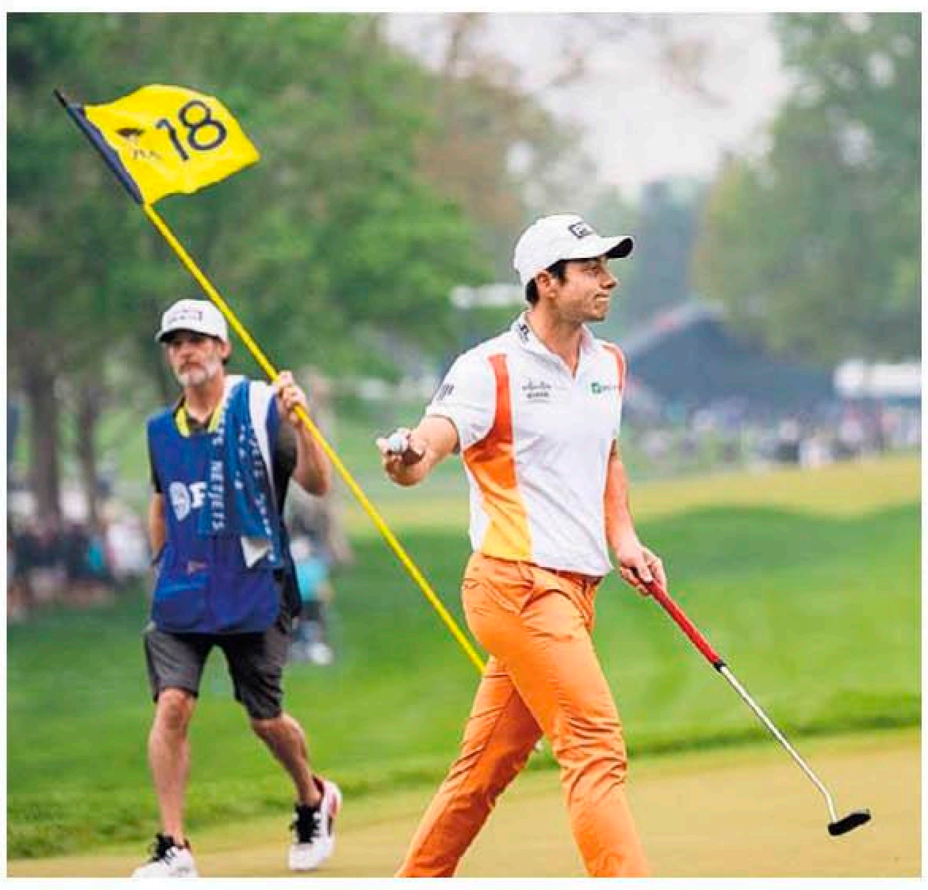
Corey Conners, Viktor Hovland and Scottie Scheffler shared the lead at five under, while Bryson DeChambeau and Justin Suh trailed by two strokes and were tied for fourth.

The par-70 course has never yielded a major champion who was not in the top three after the opening two rounds.

"It's nice to be back to have a chance, but at the same time, we've got a lot of golf left," Hovland said. "We're only halfway, and a lot of things can happen."

The cut, the top 70 golfers plus ties, claimed the rising stars Tom Kim and Sungjae Im and the reigning U.S. Open winner Matt Fitzpatrick. Jordan Spieth, who needs a P.G.A. Championship victory to complete the career Grand Slam, and Justin Thomas, who won last year's tournament, just made the cut at five over, along with Phil Mickelson and Zach Johnson, the captain of this year's American Ryder Cup team.

Through his first two rounds in suburban Rochester, Rose was never in much danger of joining them. But it has been an up-and-down decade since his Open victory at Merion. There were two runner-up finishes at Augusta National Golf Club, but never one of the green jackets that Masters Tournament champions don. He finished the 2018 British Open at Carnoustie two strokes behind Francesco Molinari, who missed this week's cut.



Left: Michael Block, a club pro from Southern California, rejoiced at No. 9 as he made the tournament cut for the first time. Right: Viktor Hovland was at five under and sharing the lead with Corey Conners and Scottie Scheffler.

There were a few top 10 showings at P.G.A. Championships, a third-place performance at a U.S. Open and the sustained aggravation of going winless for so long on tour.

A renewal of confidence came at Pebble Beach, the site of that third-place Open finish, in February, when he finally found a victory.

"Just the fact of knowing I can do it again is important," said Rose, who is seeking to become the first British player to win a P.G.A. Championship in 104 years.

So far at Oak Hill, he has found his iron play pleasing and his putting encouraging, but his game still in need of some tightening. A dose of hard-won realism probably did not hurt, either.

"When I did catch a bad lie in the rough, took my medicine and pitched out and tried to avoid the big number," he said. "I felt like making a bogey or two around here is no big deal."

He was probably right, since even the leaderboard's highest reaches were speckled with green, bogey-signaling squares on Friday. Dustin Johnson, who shot a 67 in the opening round, raced downward on Friday, when he stumbled to a 74. Less than a week after a victory in an LIV Golf tournament in Oklahoma, Johnson had four bogeys and a double bogey, his frustrations eased only by a pair of birdies.

Min Woo Lee, on the other hand, used a day of exceptional putting to make five birdies on Friday's front nine to reach even par. Brooks Koepka played the first half of Friday's round to par but had five birdies on the back nine to move to two under, a four-stroke swing from Thursday. Patrick Cantlay, the highest-ranked player in the world (No. 4) without a major tournament victory in his career, gained three strokes to stand at one over.

"If you hit great shots all day, you can play a good round, and if you just get a little off all day, you can play a round like I did yesterday where I shot four over par," Cantlay said on Friday. "It's just the line is that small. You'd better be on the right side of it."

Michael Block, the head pro at Arroyo Trabuco Golf Club, southeast of Los Angeles, was just above Cantlay on the leaderboard, at even par, a score more than sufficient for him to make the P.G.A. Championship cut for the first time.

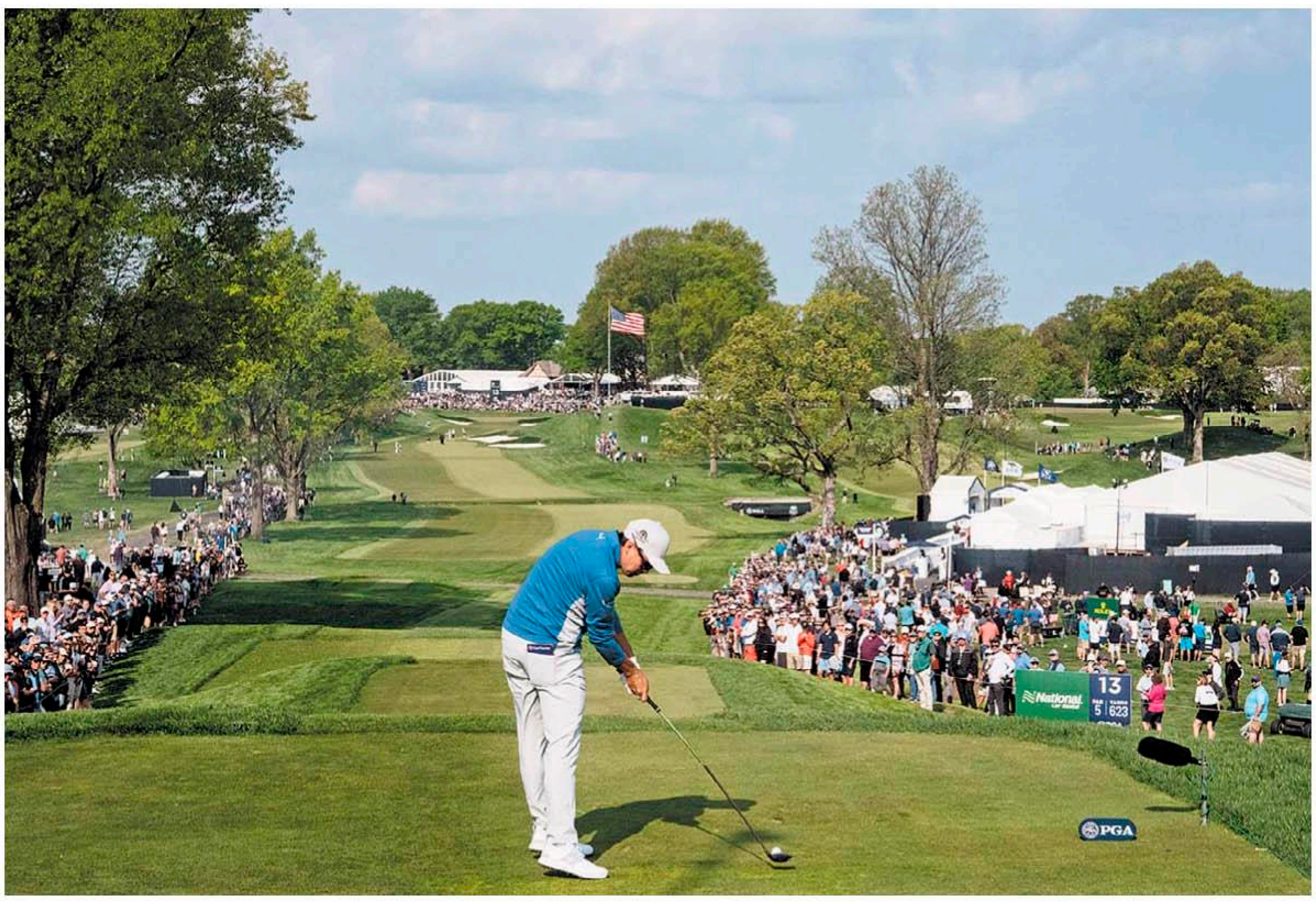
"People out there, they understand: They've hit that ball out into the bushes on the right side and they don't know what's happening, but the lucky thing about me is I figured it out pretty quick where I was going wrong," Block, who is appearing in his fifth P.G.A. Championship, said. "Club pros, I always heard, figure it out within a couple shots. Tour pros figure it out within one shot, and I was lucky enough to figure it out within one shot this time."

Oak Hill has narrow fairways — No. 18's is as skinny as 20 yards — and surging winds made them even trickier to stick on Friday than they had been on Thursday, when Rory McIlroy, the No. 3 player in the Official World Golf Ranking, landed in only two. On Friday, shots that rocketed off the tee and appeared promising frequently tumbled into a rough almost inevitably described as penal.

"I had a couple back-to-back drives on 16 and 17 where I thought it was dead in the middle, landed in the perfect spot, and just the fairways are so firm, it just rolled right in the rough," said Sepp Straka, whose 71 brought him even for the tournament. "There's not much stopping the ball out there right now other than the rough, and when you get in the rough, it's really tough to score."

Weather conditions are expected to worsen Saturday, when rain and wind could batter the course.

"I think that's going to throw off the comfort level again," Rose said. "This is just going to be four days of kind of getting the most out of each day."

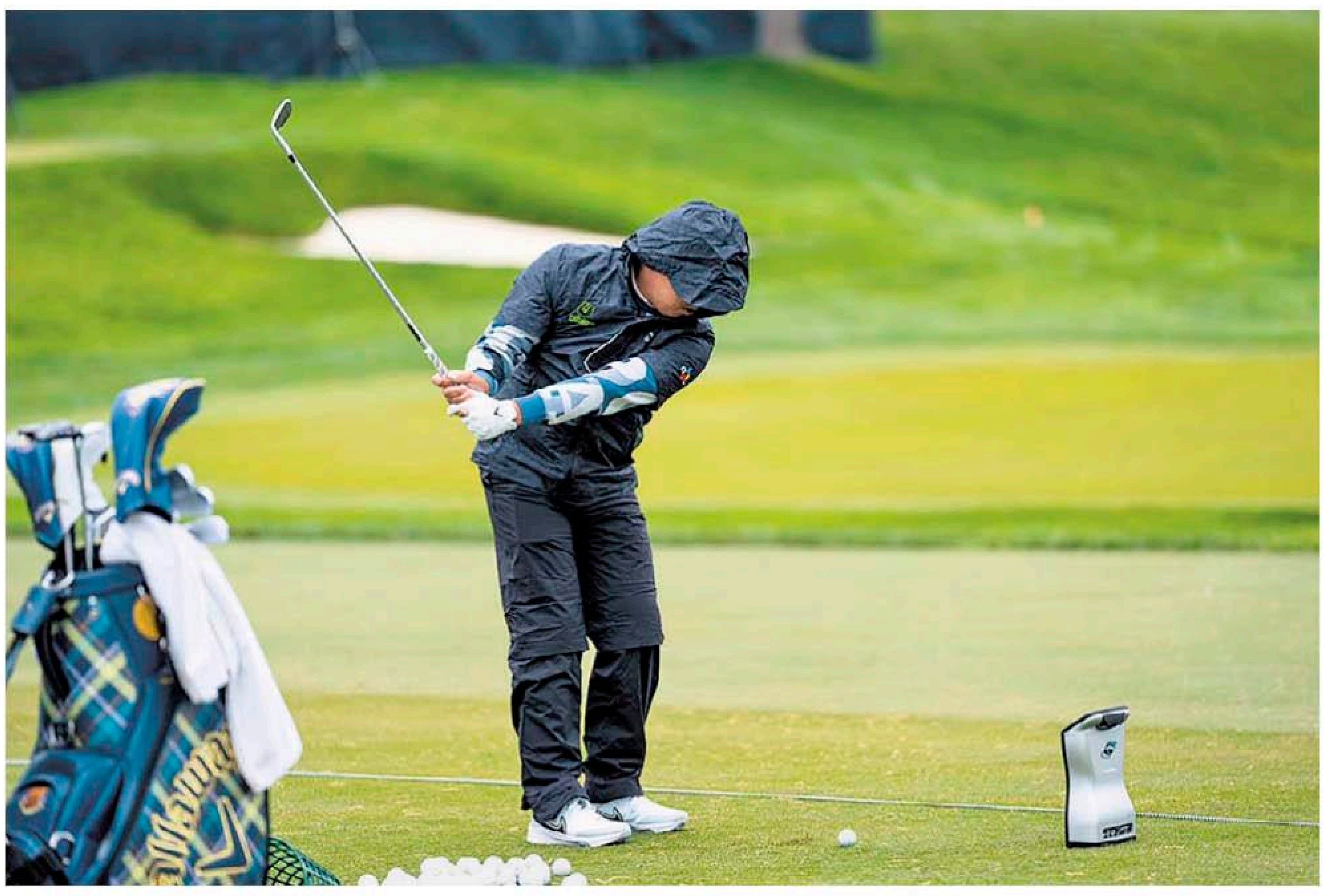


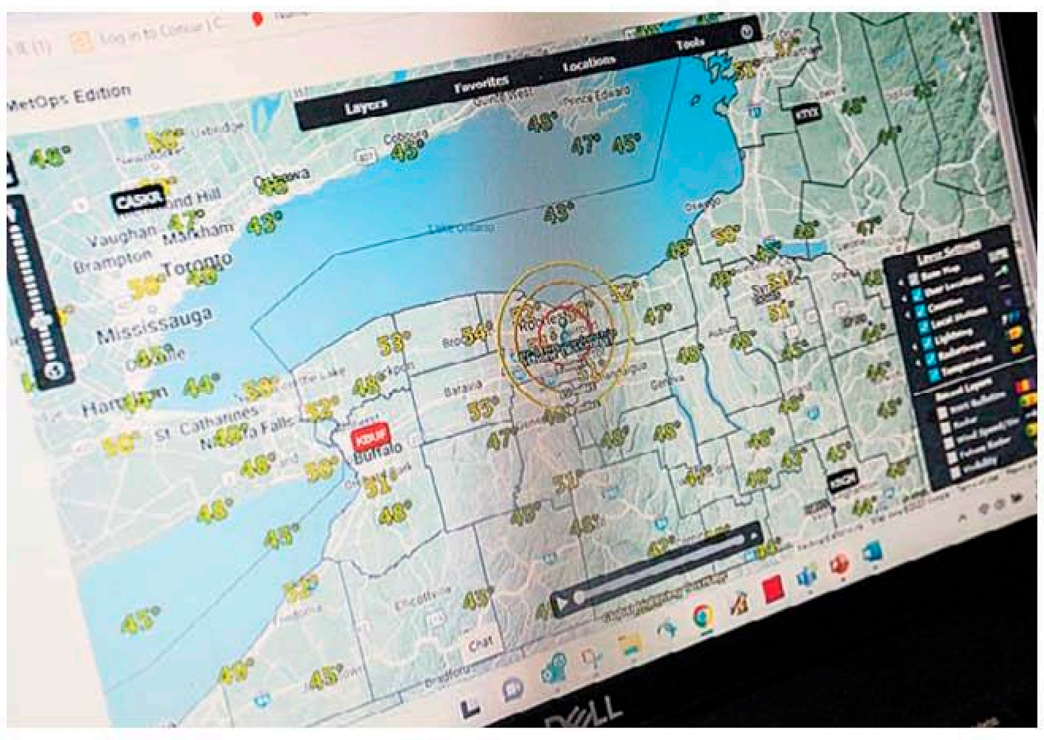
Rickie Fowler missed the cut at six over. Nobody outside the top three after 36 holes has ever won a major at Oak Hill.

GOLF | P.G.A. CHAMPIONSHIP

An Eye on the Sky Fine-Tunes the Action on the Course Below

By ALAN BLINDER and DOUG MILLS





Kim Si-woo bundled up on Wednesday at Oak Hill Country Club, left. A map of temperatures around Rochester, N.Y., above.

'You almost can't do without them in running any spectator championship, or really any golf event.'
KERRY HAIGH, P.G.A. of America official, on specialized forecasts.

PITTSFORD, N.Y. — Well before daybreak on Thursday, Stewart Williams joined an urgent discussion in a small second-floor room at Oak Hill Country Club, near the nation's northern border. The night had brought cool temperatures, clear skies and gentle winds — and that was a problem.

Frost was thickening on the golf course and, less than two hours before the P.G.A. Championship's scheduled start, the tournament's top official needed to know when it would melt. For the moment, one of the world's most prestigious golf tournaments would be shaped not by the athletic genius of a Rahm or a Koepka or a McIlroy, but by the instincts and data of a meteorologist from High Point, N.C., who barely plays the game.

By midmorning, with competition underway at last, Williams was thinking about the next hazard: a front that threatened to drench the course during Saturday's third round.

"Nobody," he mused in the sunlight, "was focused on the rain until the frost moved on."

But there are few sports that focus on the weather like golf, and few that rely as much on meteorologists who travel to venues to assemble pinpoint forecasts. Local television stations and weather apps may offer forecasts for vast regions; specialists like Williams, who has spent the better part of three decades around golf courses, are building outlooks for areas of just a few square miles.

At a popular event like the P.G.A. Championship, his predictions may not affect the tournament as much as the rule book, but they will influence course agronomy and pin placements, television broadcast preparations and emergency planning. A 350-acre property with relatively few shelters, organizers often note, takes much longer to evacuate than most places.

"When you see a red line that spans about 400 miles north to south, it doesn't take a rocket scientist to see that it's coming," said Sellers Shy, the lead golf producer for CBS, which will air weekend rounds and keeps a weather map in its bank of production monitors. "But their technology and their expertise literally gets it down to how far away it is, as well as when it will arrive and when the horn will blow to within five minutes, probably."

Shy uses the forecasts to plan for interruptions in play — there is still airtime to fill, whether or not someone is trying to escape Oak Hill's rough — but Kerry Haigh, P.G.A. of America's chief championships officer and the man who so desperately needed to know the timing of the frost melt, relies on them for course setup, shifting his thinking about tee and hole locations to accommodate conditions over a 72-hole tournament.

"You almost can't do without them in running any spectator championship, or really any golf event," said Haigh, whose desk at Oak Hill is essentially a putt away from Williams's, where the forecaster toggled his laptop screen among maps, models and charts.

Outside, next to a wading pool, a battery-powered tower Williams had erected was aloft, detecting electrical charges that could give just a bit more warning about lightning, the greatest concern at a sprawling golf tournament. An anemometer spun at the top.

Golf executives have yet to find a convenient locale with a guarantee of perpetually sublime conditions, and tournament histories are thick with disruptions that some experts believe will become more common as the climate changes. Last year's Players Championship concluded a day late because of miserable weather in Florida, much like this year's Pebble Beach Pro-Am in California. In Augusta, Ga., in April, the Masters Tournament dodged its first Monday finish since 1983 — but it had to squeeze the end of the third round and the entire fourth round into Sunday. And the 2018 P.G.A. Championship had Friday play upended when electrical storms pounded the St. Louis area. The next year, six people were injured after lightning strikes at a tournament in Atlanta, where fast-developing thunderstorms are a summertime trademark.

Oak Hill Country Club, in a suburb of Rochester, is no place for an entirely predictable forecast, especially in May, when the region's weather patterns are in transition. The nearby Great Lakes add to the puzzle since they can inject moisture and unusual winds. Williams covered the 2013 P.G.A. Championship at the club, an experience that was only so valuable this time around since that tournament unfolded in August.

For this year's event, he began closely studying the region's weather tendencies about a month ago, noting which forecasting models seemed more accurate than others in the area. He also examined historical trends.

"You're always trying to stay in tune with how do the data sources behave at the site you're at, so you can understand tendencies and bias that helps alter how you forecast," said Renny Vandewege, a vice president at DTN, the weather company that employs Williams and works with the PGA Tour, the L.P.G.A. and the P.G.A. of America. (It is not always a private sector endeavor; Britain's national meteorological service, which is under contract with the R&A, sends forecasters to the British Open.)

The influx of data, Williams and Vandewege said, helps, especially with technology that has rapidly improved in recent decades and models that now yield projections every hour. The human element, they insist, matters, perhaps more than ever in an era of easily accessible weather data.

"For us as meteorologists, I look at this model, and then maybe I look at a different one — it may have this further east, having everything arrive faster," Williams said as he sat next to Vandewege and weighed the approaching storm system. "That's when you start using your instincts."

Tournaments vary in the number of official forecasts they issue on a daily basis, but players and caddies pore over them once they hit inboxes and are posted at the first and 10th tees. Some routinely approach Williams seeking even more specific details for the days ahead, and the course superintendent is always looking for projected evapotranspiration rates, or how much moisture leaves the grass and soil. Davis Love III, Williams said, also liked to ask what to expect for his fishing trips.

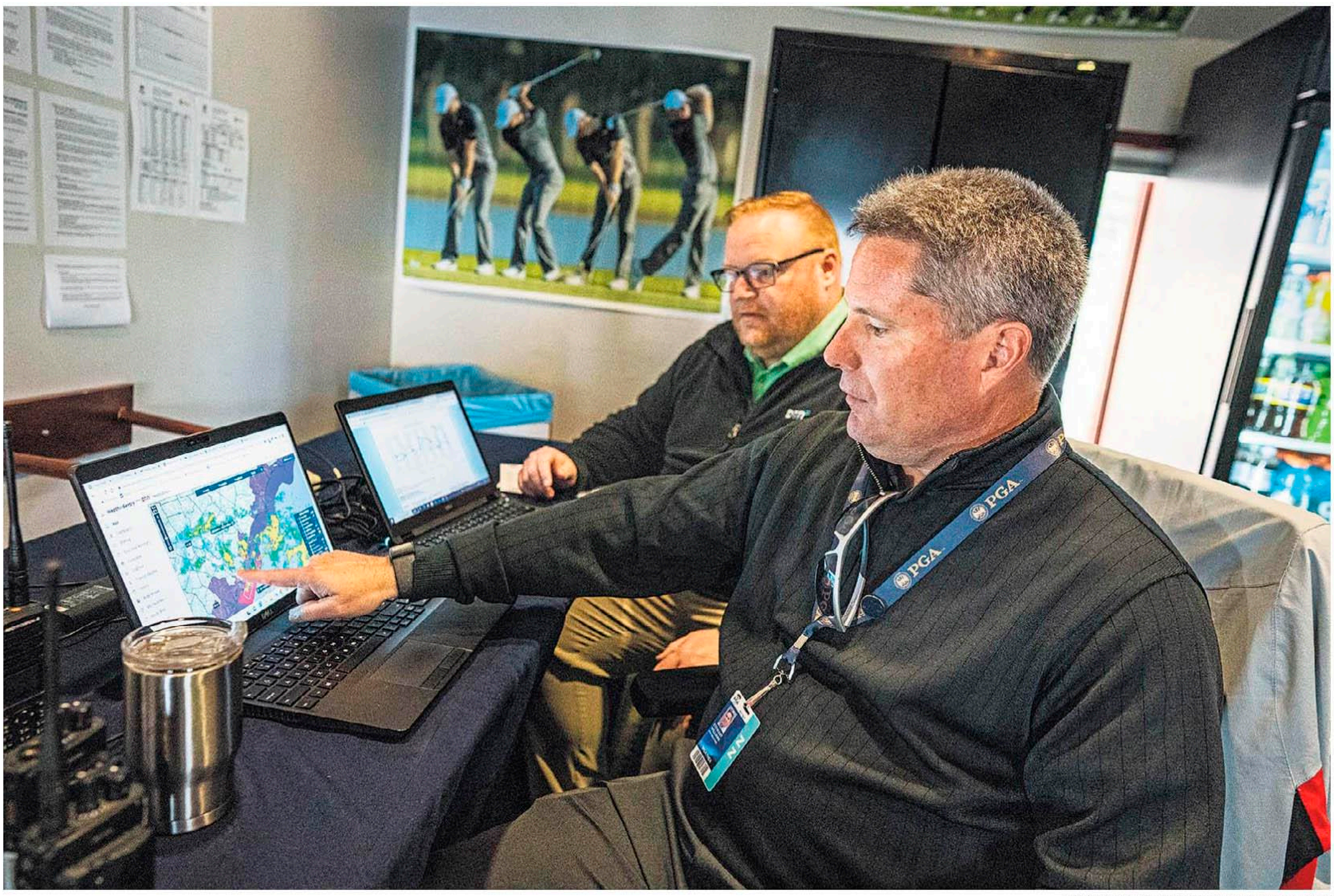
"You're not going to not look at information that they're giving you," said Collin Morikawa, a two-time major champion, who figured nearly every player also had two or three weather apps close at hand.

"We look at everything," he said. "I think you have to take everything into account."

Others, like Haigh, try to avoid a torrent of forecasts. Whatever Williams predicts, they say, is what will principally guide their thinking.

"They are the professionals — that's what they do week in and week out, and they're very good at it," Haigh said. "They have better and more high-tech equipment than I certainly have on any apps."

The frost melt forecast was right on time.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Predictions from the meteorologists Stewart Williams, foreground, and Renny Vandewege influence pin placements, broadcast preparations and emergency planning.

Spectators on the 18th green at this year's Masters. Rain forced tournament organizers to squeeze the end of the third round and the entire fourth round into Sunday to avoid a Monday finish.

PRO FOOTBALL

PHOTOGRAPHS BY KRISTIAN THACKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A donated brain at the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center Presbyterian Hospital. Posthumous donations are still the primary method of advancing chronic traumatic encephalopathy research.

Why Do Some Players in the N.F.L. Get C.T.E. While Others Do Not?

The new National Sports Brain Bank plans to study head trauma specific to athletes.

By KEN BELSON

PITTSBURGH — Joseph Maroon, a neurosurgeon, began working for the Pittsburgh Steelers as a consulting doctor starting in 1977 and over 46 years has examined and treated stars from the notoriously hard-nosed dynasty, including the Hall of Famers Terry Bradshaw, Mean Joe Greene and Lynn Swann.

Many of them, he said, worry about the health of their brains because they played when concussions were viewed as "dings," full-contact practices were common and the most violent hits were still permitted.

"Certainly, everyone who has participated at that level has some concern," Maroon said last week in his office at the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center Presbyterian Hospital. "But we haven't seen the epidemic that one might anticipate from playing in that era with less protective helmets, less rules and harder fields. There's just so many unknowns."

A growing number of scientific studies done over the past 15 years have found links between repeated head trauma and chronic traumatic encephalopathy, a degenerative brain disease. Many of those have come via the C.T.E. Center at Boston University, which has examined the brains of hundreds of former N.F.L. players and other athletes and military personnel.

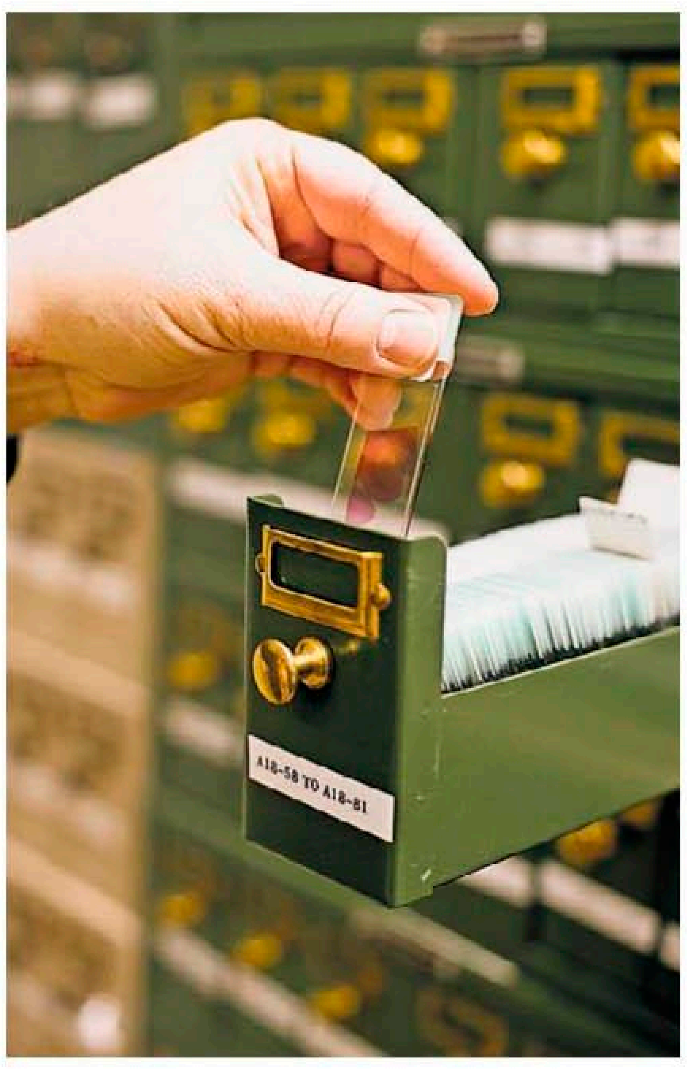
But Maroon, who in the past has called the rates of C.T.E. in football players a "rare" phenomenon and "over-exaggerated," felt there needed to be more research on why some athletes have few or none of the symptoms tied to C.T.E., including memory loss, impulse control issues and depression, while others are overwhelmed by them.

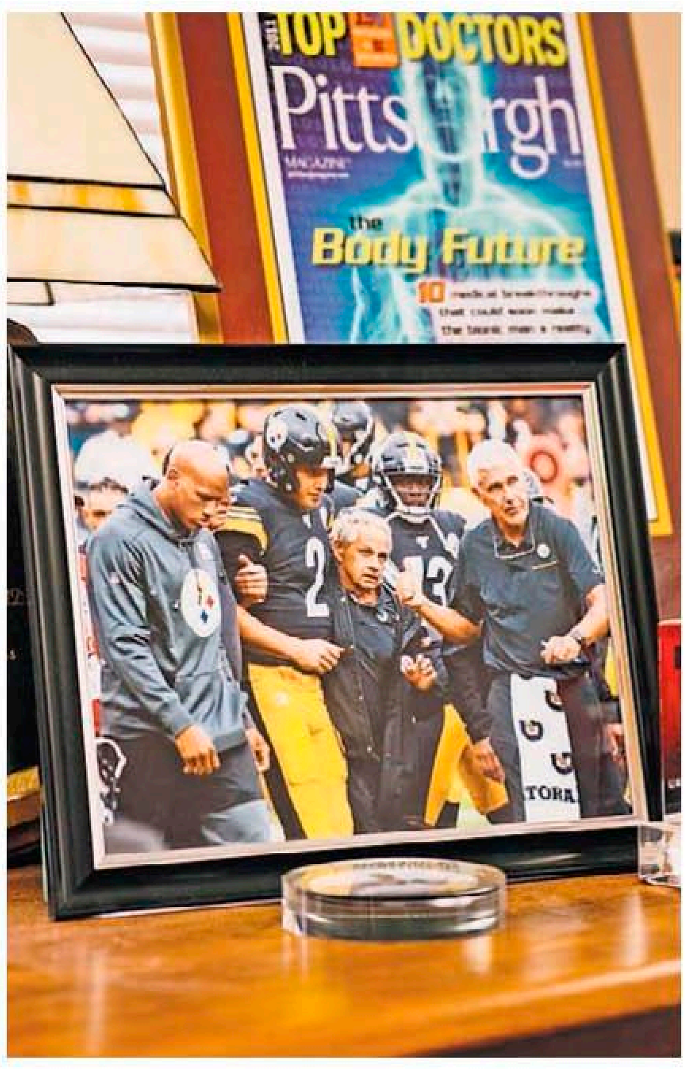
So five years ago, Maroon and the Steelers' owner, Art Rooney II, approached doctors at the University of Pittsburgh's Alzheimer's Disease Research Center to discuss starting a sports-focused brain bank that studies the roles that age, genetics, substance abuse, the number of head hits and other factors play in the development of C.T.E.

The result is the National Sports Brain Bank at the University of Pittsburgh, which will formally open on Thursday. After being delayed several years by the Covid-19 pandemic, the center has accepted pledges of brains from athletes including the former Steelers running backs Jerome Bettis and Merril Hoge.

C.T.E. can be diagnosed only after death, and doctors are still years away from developing a test to detect the disease in the living, so posthumous donations to brain banks are still the primary method of advancing the research.

The center will also begin recruiting volunteers — athletes from all levels of sports, as well as nonathletes to serve as a control group — to provide their health histories and be monitored in the coming years. That information will be compared to the conditions of their brains after they die to determine which, if any, factors played a role in their having or not having C.T.E.





The facility at the University of Pittsburgh is building a database that will include samples of athletes from all levels of sports, as well as nonathletes to serve as a control group. Dr. Joseph Maroon's office includes photos and mementos of his career in sports, center.

"We don't know where the threshold is for C.T.E.," said Julia Kofler, the director of the neuropathology department at the University of Pittsburgh, who will oversee the sports brain bank. "You certainly see cases that had very minimal pathology that had symptoms, and that's the question. I think we really need to have as many cases as we can to answer these epidemiological questions."

The National Sports Brain Bank will rely on the infrastructure at the Alzheimer's Disease Research Center, which already has more than 2,000 brains, though most are not from athletes. The Sports Brain Bank will use seed funding from the Chuck Noll Foundation, the Pittsburgh Foundation and the Richard King Mellon Foundation to find volunteers for the long-term study and people willing to pledge their brains.

Maroon, Kofler and others in Pittsburgh acknowledged the work of doctors at Boston University, who have been the undisputed leaders in C.T.E. research. Researchers there have more 1,350 brains not just from football players, but also from athletes who played hockey, rugby, soccer and other sports, as well as members of the military. So far, about 700 of those brains have been found to have C.T.E.

But Maroon said that some research produced by the Boston group was biased, because families had typically donated the brains of relatives who exhibited symptoms consistent with C.T.E. when they were alive. When asked to provide details of their loved ones' head traumas, those families' memories of the former players' concussion histories might be imprecise.

Doctors are still years away from a C.T.E. test for the living.

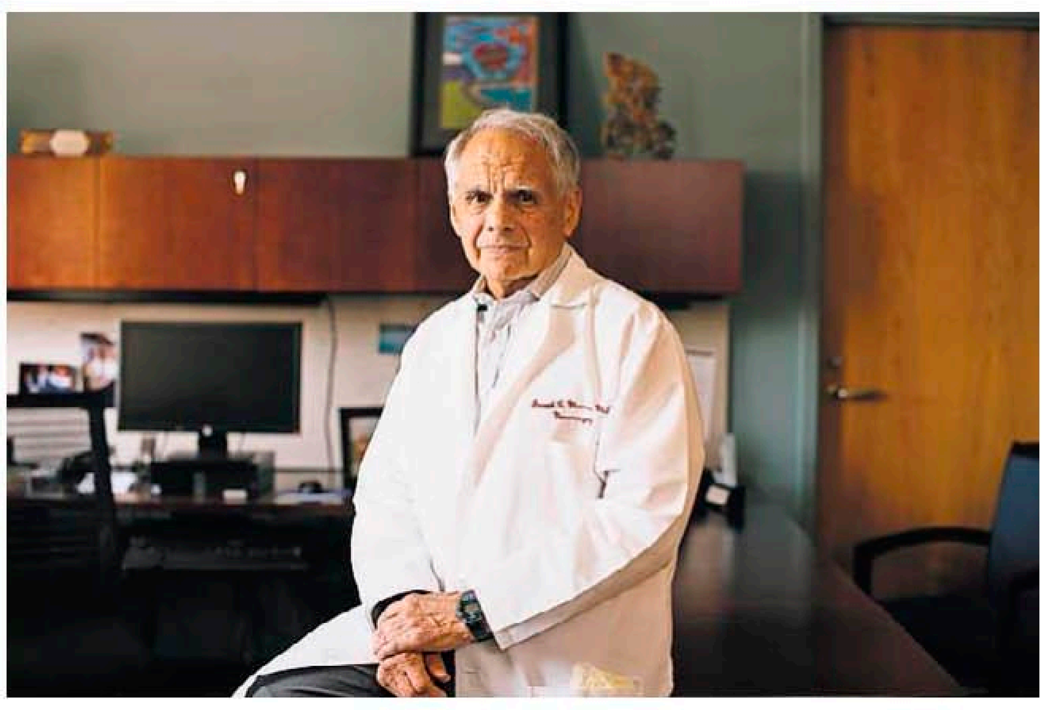
The long-term study undertaken by researchers at Pittsburgh should "reduce, eliminate, obviate that kind of bias," Maroon said.

Ann McKee, the neuropathologist who leads the C.T.E. Center at Boston University, said her group had for many years acknowledged the selection bias among families. She also said doctors at Boston University were already undertaking several longitudinal studies.

"We are doing all of this," McKee said, adding that "it's always great to have another group involved, and it'll accelerate the research and accelerate scientific discoveries, especially concerning treatment. So that's fantastic."

Unlike Boston University, the National Sports Brain Bank is not shying away from ties to the N.F.L. The Chuck Noll Foundation for Brain Research, named for the former Steelers head coach who was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease before his death in 2014, has provided seed money to the bank. The foundation was started in 2016 partly with a donation from the Steelers' charitable arm and has provided more than $2.5 million in research grants to explore the diagnosis and treatment of brain injuries, primarily those that occur in sports.

"It was important for the Steelers that we get behind this," Rooney said in a phone interview. "Obviously, we're in the early stages of this, but we're hopeful that it gets the kind of attention that it's going to need to really be successful."



Dr. Maroon wonders why we haven't seen more of an epidemic of C.T.E. from players who played in less protective helmets.

Hoge, the former Steelers running back who has agreed to donate his brain, said he had chosen the National Sports Brain Bank because the University of Pittsburgh and other institutions in the city had been centers of innovation in brain health, including the development of helmet technology. He also noted that Noll, his former coach, had pushed for the development of a test to evaluate a player's cognitive abilities that could be used as a baseline to identify concussions. It was a forerunner to the Immediate Post-Concussion Assessment and Cognitive Test (IMPACT) that has been used globally.

Hoge, who in 2018 co-wrote the book "Brainwashed: The Bad Science Behind C.T.E. and the Plot to Destroy Football," added that he believed in the integrity of the research at the Pittsburgh brain bank.

"There's so much misunderstanding and fear," Hoge said. "Helping them find that right information and giving them other information and resources to help them with the thought process, I think, is very important."

Gil Rabinovici, the director of the Alzheimer's Disease Research Center at the University of California, San Francisco, said that "this type of research is best conducted when the funders and investigators are free of any potential conflicts," referring to the Pittsburgh group's N.F.L. links.

He added that the researchers in Boston had done an "excellent job" in describing the pathology of C.T.E., "but in science, you look for independent replication with different groups studying the same scientific questions using different methods, and hopefully reaching similar conclusions."

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BASEBALL

In His Cameo Stints At Short, Betts Looks As if He'd Never Left It

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On April 20, in his first major league game at shortstop, Mookie Betts of the Dodgers turned a double play. At left with Freddie Freeman, who said that Betts was "a complete team player."

By SCOTT MILLER

LOS ANGELES — Mookie Betts was returning from paternity leave, his car was stuck in Chicago freeway gridlock for what seemed like an eternity, and he arrived at Wrigley Field late for that night's game.

The Los Angeles Dodgers knew in advance that Betts would miss the first pitch against the Cubs. And Manager Dave Roberts had put Betts on notice that once he arrived, he was going to be playing shortstop for the first time in his major league career — and for the first time at any level in 10 years.

So which was more harrowing for Betts, an All-Star outfielder and Most Valuable Player Award winner: the anxiety of being caught in traffic while the game was starting, or playing shortstop in the majors for the first time?

"Cab ride," Roberts guessed without missing a beat.

Roberts, in his ninth season as the Dodgers' manager, is known for his superhuman-like communication with his players. But on this question, he whiffed.

A return after 10 years as injuries hit the middle infield.

"Nah, man, going out to short for the first time was definitely more nerve-racking," Betts said over the weekend at Dodger Stadium, where he smashed two home runs, drove in three runs, scored three more and made his fifth start at shortstop while leading the first-place Dodgers to a three-game sweep of the slumping San Diego Padres.

Betts's answer, though, came with a caveat: His debut at shortstop was more stressful because his late arrival prevented him from taking any ground balls before the game.

"It was just — bam!" Betts said.

Sometimes, Betts allowed, it's best that way. Few things rattle him on a baseball diamond, and a decade into his big league career, his antics and abilities no longer surprise his teammates. So his regularly filling in at shortstop and second base, in addition to having his usual outfield duties, is exactly the kind of thing they would expect him to do, regardless of how ridiculous that sounds.

"I mean, the guy bowls 300s in the morning and comes in and hits home runs at night," first baseman Freddie Freeman said, referring to one of Betts's widely known hobbies. "The guy's a special talent. He's a complete team player, three different positions already this year in the first 37, 38 games. Switching positions and leading off every single day, it's a tough task. But if anybody can handle it, it's him."

Betts's increasingly frequent infield assignments are borne out of necessity. When last year's Dodgers shortstop, Trea Turner, signed an 11-year, $300 million deal with Philadelphia in the offseason, the Dodgers made a conscious decision to step back with their own payroll. The idea was to reset their roster, give opportunities to prospects such as infielder Miguel Vargas and outfielder James Outman and parlay their years of winning — nine National League West titles in 10 years — without having to rebuild.

The Dodgers were not so much slashing their payroll as picking their spots. Though down from last year's figure, a league-high $270 million, their $225 million payroll in 2023 still ranks fifth in Major League Baseball.

The idea was to play Gavin Lux, a homegrown player with a promising bat, at shortstop and Vargas at second. But when Lux sustained a season-ending knee injury in spring training, plans changed.

What the Dodgers were left with was Miguel Rojas, 34, a veteran acquired in a trade with Miami during the winter to help Lux adjust to shortstop, and Chris Taylor, a utility player more accustomed to the outfield.

Enter Betts, who had made occasional appearances at second base going all the way back to his rookie season in Boston. He grew up playing shortstop and had dreamed of one day doing so in the majors.

"I didn't think I was actually going to end up playing short, but I always told them, like, 'Hey, you know, I'm available to do it if push ever comes to shove,'" Betts said. "And push came to shove."

Push coming to shove is a consistent, if sometimes unwelcome, intruder in the game. The Tigers famously moved center fielder Mickey Stanley to shortstop for the 1968 World Series, removing the light-hitting regular Ray Oyler. Stanley had never played the position before yet he managed it well and Detroit defeated the St. Louis Cardinals in seven games.

Decades later, in 2012, Detroit had once again developed a vexing hole when Victor Martinez sustained a season-ending knee injury. Unlike Lux's injury, Martinez's happened well before the season started. So the Tigers signed the free-agent slugger Prince Fielder and shoved an agreeable, but not particularly graceful, Miguel Cabrera from first base to third.

"You came up as a shortstop, this should be easy for you," Dino Ebel, who was the Angels' third-base coach that year and now has that role with the Dodgers, teased Cabrera when the their teams faced each other.

"He was like, 'Yeah, here I am, playing the left side of the diamond again,'" Ebel said.

Betts was drafted as a shortstop by Boston in 2011, and unlike Cabrera he had the physique to stay in the position on a long-term basis. But with the All-Star Dustin Pedroia established at second base in the majors and Xander Bogaerts already in the Red Sox system, Betts moved to the outfield. Before his recent cameos, he had last played shortstop professionally in the Arizona Fall League in 2013 and had logged only 112 professional innings at the position.

His first appearance in Chicago had come because Rojas (hamstring) and Taylor (oblique) were injured. But through Thursday he had played seven games at the position, including five starts. He committed a throwing error on Saturday against San Diego, but he has otherwise been flawless, including turning a slick double play while leaping over a sliding base runner during his debut in Chicago. Advanced statistics suggest his defensive play at shortstop, in an admittedly small sample, has been close to elite, just as it is at second base and in right field.

The change in position has coincided with some extra pop at the plate as well: Three of his nine homers had come while playing shortstop.

Though Betts has won six Gold Gloves as a right fielder, it has never been a secret that he gets bored in the outfield. His favorite position, he said, "if you could just pick, it'd probably be short or second, either one," adding: "They're very interchangeable for me. They get the most action, and I just feel like that's where my athleticism kind of plays the most."

He added: "I just told them, 'I'm a tool, use me.' I'm here. It's not like I'm fighting for my next contract. I just want to win."

Part of that is the security afforded to him by a 12-year, $365 million deal ($30.4 million average annual value) he signed with the Dodgers ahead of the 2020 season. The deal has aged well compared with some of the megadeals handed out last offseason, even beyond Betts's ability to shift seamlessly, and without complaint, to the infield whenever the team needs him.

Even once the Dodgers' roster becomes healthy, Betts has done the work to prove that he is capable of playing the infield in a meaningful number of innings, with Roberts estimating that he could get 15 to 20 infield starts this season. That number could fluctuate based on performance and team need.

"When I saw him in spring training taking ground balls, right away I knew he takes things seriously and he's not there just to mess around and have fun," Rojas said.

Betts, who has taken daily ground balls at second base and shortstop during batting practice for years, frequently compares notes with Rojas as they work together in the early afternoon. Before the series opener with the Padres last Friday, Rojas complimented Betts on using the right technique on a particular backhand play. Betts returned a compliment regarding Rojas's proper positioning on a ball in front of him.

"He's one of the best athletes I've ever seen," Freeman said of Betts. "He wants to do whatever he's asked to do, and he makes it look pretty easy."

That confidence has permeated the clubhouse, with the ultimate endorsement coming ahead of the series finale in Chicago last month. Roberts was considering giving Betts his first start at shortstop, but with Clayton Kershaw scheduled to pitch, Roberts made sure to check with his ace to get his blessing.

"He was like, 'I'm in,'" Roberts said. "And so at that point in time, I think it freed everybody up that if Clayton trusts him, then let's just go and do it."

Wherever the team puts him defensively, Betts exudes calm. It is why Roberts was sure the car ride from O'Hare Airport to Wrigley Field would have stressed Betts more than playing shortstop in the majors.

"I marvel not only at the mechanics of it, but the heartbeat of it," Roberts said. "Because if you haven't done something in a major league game, you would think there would be a little bit of extra anxiousness. But with him, there's none."

After Dodgers Rescind a Group's Pride Night Invitation, Others Drop Out in Protest

By SCOTT MILLER

The Los Angeles Dodgers are facing a great deal of criticism ahead of their upcoming LGBTQ+ Pride Night for the team's decision to disinvite a group from what is scheduled to be their 10th annual celebration of diversity and inclusion on June 16 at Dodger Stadium.

The club announced Wednesday that it would no longer honor the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence with its Community Hero Award in a pregame ceremony that evening, effectively disinviting the charity, protest and street performance organization that employs humor and religious imagery to call attention to sexual intolerance.

The decision, which has led to several groups pulling out of the event in protest, came about after heavy pressure from conservative Catholic organizations, including the Catholic League and CatholicVote, and after Senator Marco Rubio, Republican of Florida, wrote a letter to Major League Baseball Commissioner Rob Manfred questioning whether the inclusion of the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence would be "inclusive and welcoming to Christians."

In announcing their decision, the Dodgers noted that LGBTQ+ Pride Night had "become a meaningful tradition, not only highlighting the diversity and resilience within our fan base, but also the impactful work of extraordinary community groups." However, the team also said: "Given the strong feelings of those who have been offended by the sisters' inclusion in our evening, and in an effort not to distract from the great benefits that we have seen over the years of Pride Night, we are deciding to remove them from this year's group of honorees."

By Thursday, what was supposed to be a celebration at Dodger Stadium had become a lightning rod of controversy. And based on the blowback, the force of which caught the organization off guard, the club is working internally on potential compromise solutions, according to a team official who spoke on condition of anonymity because they are not authorized to speak publicly about the situation.

What shape the event will take place in light of the various groups dropping out remains to be seen.

The Los Angeles LGBT Center condemned the Dodgers' decision on Thursday, demanding that the team reverse its stance on the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence or cancel Pride Night altogether.

In part, the center's statement read: "Buckling to pressure from out-of-state, right-wing fundamentalists, the Dodgers caved to a religious minority that is perpetuating a false narrative about L.G.B.T.Q.+ people. They have been fed lies about the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, and have therefore contributed to the ongoing, anti-L.G.B.T.Q. smear campaign happening in this country."

The American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California had announced on Wednesday night that, in unity with the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, "we will not participate in Pride Night." The organization pointed out that the Dodgers, who broke baseball's color line with Jackie Robinson in 1947, had previously been "champions of inclusion."

And in a third major blow, LA Pride, organizers of the LA Pride Parade and Festival, said on Thursday night that their organization will also not attend the event. The group, which claims to have organized the world's first permitted parade advocating for gay rights in 1970, said it was "very disappointed" in the team, which it described as a longtime partner.

The Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence was founded in 1979 in San Francisco. According to the group's website, its members have devoted themselves to "community service, ministry and outreach to those on the edges, and to promoting human rights, respect for diversity and spiritual enlightenment." The organization uses "humor and irreverent wit to expose the forces of bigotry, complacency and guilt that chain the human spirit."

KEVORK DJANSEZIAN/GETTY IMAGES

The Los Angeles Dodgers are planning to host their annual LGBTQ+ Pride Night on June 16.

Group members, who describe themselves as "a leading-edge order of queer and trans nuns," are typically dressed in outfits with religious imagery, like nuns' habits.

The Los Angeles branch of the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, who have been actively serving that community's L.G.B.T.Q. community for 27 years, were going to receive the award from the Dodgers.

In a statement expressing disappointment that the Dodgers were "succumbing to pressure from persons outside of the state of California and outside of our community" and noting that the Dodgers had chosen to "un-ally themselves with us in our ongoing service to the public," the group went on to say:

"We are both silly and serious. We use our flamboyance in service to our charity work and our message, which is 'There is room in our world for each person to be who they are, as they are, free from shame or guilt, and alive in love and joy for their own self.'

"We wish to point out that though our L.G.B.T.Q.I.A. community is currently being assailed by a small group of extremists attempting to roll back society's progress, they are a tiny minority and do not represent the majority of Americans' commitment to a country that lives side by side in our great melting pot."

For the Dodgers, Pride Night has become a growing and essential component of each season. Last year, for the first time, the Dodgers wore custom-designed, rainbow-colored logo caps for a game during what Eric Braverman, the club's senior vice-president of marketing, communications and broadcasting, said "has become one of the most anticipated nights of the season."

Last year's Pride Night also closed a circle of sorts by honoring Glenn Burke, the first major leaguer to have come out as gay, whom they traded to Oakland in 1978 after he declined the team's offer to contribute $75,000 toward a very nice honeymoon if he would get married to a woman. The trade did not make sense unless you knew about Burke's personal life.

Burke was close friends with Tommy Lasorda Jr., who also was gay and died of AIDS complications in 1991. It wasn't until after Tommy Lasorda, the team's Hall of Fame manager, died in 2021 that the Dodgers moved to honor Burke on Pride Night. Nevertheless, more than 40 of Burke's family and friends traveled to Los Angeles for the occasion.

"These celebrations are important," Billie Jean King, the tennis superstar who is a minority owner of the Dodgers and honorary lifetime president of the Elton John Aids Foundation, told The Times last year. "Just for one moment, you slow down and think about whatever is being celebrated, think about the deeper meaning as well as the fun part.

"There's a lot to celebrate. But we also need to be very vigilant."

HORSE RACING

A Requiem For 7 Thoroughbreds

When seven horses died during Kentucky Derby week, it was significant news, but little was said about the individual horses. Here are their stories, beginning with a $13,000 colt called Snowball.

By JOE DRAPE

JOE LEJZEROWISC

Freezing Point (nicknamed Snowball)

Her voice catches and tears threaten to follow, but Randy Gootzeit wants you to know about how a strapping gray colt nicknamed Snowball brought a couple of horse lovers back to the track, and how they got their hearts broken.

Snowball, known on the track as Freezing Point, suffered a fatal breakdown during an undercard race at Churchill Downs on May 6, becoming the seventh horse to die in an agonizing eight days leading up to the Kentucky Derby. The deaths, as yet unexplained, have cast a pall over this year's Triple Crown and renewed questions about the safety of the animals as the sport prepares for Saturday's Preakness Stakes in Baltimore.

But for Gootzeit and her trainer Joe Lejzerowicz, the troubles in horse racing are just a backdrop to their private grief.

"We'd have done anything to save him, but we could not," Gootzeit said. "We miss him desperately."

Gootzeit, 71, lives near Phoenix. She galloped and trained horses in the 1970s and '80s at Belmont Park, but left the racetrack to return to school and become a physical therapist. She works on humans, but has also applied what she learned to horses.

She had not thought much about returning to the game until she talked to Lejzerowicz about buying a 2011 Volkswagen from him. A veteran trainer, he had learned his horsemanship under the Hall of Fame trainer Allen Jerkens and had worked for more than 30 years in barns from New York to California. Lejzerowicz was in Phoenix as well, selling cars and taking a break from the sport while learning to cope with Ménière's disease, a disorder of the inner ear that causes severe vertigo and ringing in the ears.

He and Gootzeit made an immediate connection. Their love of horses made them friends, but it was their shared view of how to treat the animals that made them business partners: Don't push them, keep them sound, choose rest over medication.

"We were coming out of the pandemic, and it was clear no one's timeline was guaranteed," Gootzeit said, "I told Joe that it was time to bet on ourselves."

With Gootzeit providing a bankroll of just $20,000, it took the pair some time to get back in the sport. They struck out at three auctions before Lejzerowicz fell in love with No. 954 at the Ocala, Fla., 2-year-old training sale last June. The colt was balanced, muscled and declared by a vet to be perfectly sound.

Surely, they thought, they couldn't afford him.

"He's perfect, but we don't have a snowball's chance in hell of getting him," Lejzerowicz told Gootzeit.

Lejzerowicz was so certain that their electronic bid would be topped that he was taking a nap in his truck when someone knocked and told him the colt was his for $13,000.

The pair took their time with the colt, whose official name was Freezing Point (a nod to his sire, Frosted), figuring out his eccentricities and admiring his work ethic.

"He was a little spitfire," Lejzerowicz, 53, said. "He was playful. I'd shake my finger at him, and he'd try to push it back at me."

Lejzerowicz took Snowball to Keeneland in Kentucky to get him ready to race. Gootzeit flew in every couple of weeks to help with training and tend to the colt. Snowball won once in three tries as a 2-year-old and began catching the eye of deeper-pocketed outfits. Gootzeit turned down offers of $150,000, $480,000 and, after Snowball finished third last month in the Lafayette Stakes, $600,000.

One of Gootzeit's mentors had advised her years earlier to take an offer for a horse only if the money was life-changing. This was a lot of money, but Snowball was already life-changing.

The gray colt had reconnected her to some of her happiest times and offered an opportunity to apply her knowledge of physical therapy and test her theories about what makes a happy horse.

In Lejzerowicz, she had not only found a friend but also a horseman who shared her values. "We loved the horse too much to consign him to anyone else's care," Gootzeit said.

And that is why the pair were at Churchill Downs on the first Saturday in May. They watched their horse run in the $500,000 Pat Day Mile Stakes just a couple of hours before the Derby.

They watched from the rail near the winner's circle. Snowball broke cleanly from the starting gate, but within a quarter-mile, Gootzeit and Lejzerowicz recognized their horse was in distress.

"His head popped up in the air," Gootzeit said. "It swung left. It swung right. Something happened. I knew something bad happened."

Within 30 minutes, Snowball was diagnosed with a broken bone in his left front ankle. Within an hour, Gootzeit and Lejzerowicz were saying tearful goodbyes to him. After the colt was euthanized, the vet passed on a locket of hair from his mane as a talisman.

Snowball will never be replaced, but the pair will press on. They are looking for another sound thoroughbred whose talent they can help surface.

"We are not going to be driven out of the game," Gootzeit said. "We want to succeed honestly and cleanly and give our horses the love and respect they deserve."

MATT STONE/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS

The trainer Saffie Joseph Jr. this month at Churchill Downs. He trained two of the seven horses who died there. His colt Lord Miles was not allowed to race in the Derby.

Wild on Ice

3-year-old gelding; Injured his left hind leg during training and was euthanized

The jockey for this gritty Texas-bred horse, Ken Tohill, has won more than 4,100 races, but the gelding's victory in the Sunland Derby in March was his first in a graded stakes race. At 60, Tohill was set to become the oldest rider in Derby history. "A gift," is how Tohill described Wild on Ice one morning last month. He continued, "He's well bred enough and his talent is starting to show."

Code of Kings

3-year-old gelding; Flipped in the paddock and broke his neck

This son of Empire Maker was promising enough to debut in Saratoga, but he didn't live up to his promise, failing to finish higher than fifth in six starts. Code of Kings was being saddled when he became entranced by party lights at a D.J. booth, according to his trainer, and flipped once, twice and, finally, a fatal third time.

Parents Pride

4-year-old filly; Collapsed and died on April 29 during the eighth race at Churchill Downs

This filly had won two in a row and, with more than $153,000 in earnings, had tripled her purchase price. She was the second betting choice at odds of 2-1 and had Churchill's leading rider, Tyler Gaffalione, aboard. Parents Pride was sitting a comfortable second in the backstretch when Gaffalione suddenly pulled her up. She was vanned off the racetrack, then collapsed and died in Churchill's backside.

Chasing Artie

5-year-old gelding; Collapsed and died on May 2 after finishing the eighth race, in which he finished last

This versatile gelding had stakes victories on grass and dirt. He made a believer out of Albin Jimenez two summers ago at Monmouth Park when the jockey rode him as a last-minute replacement. "It was a good surprise to pick up this mount," said Jimenez. "I said, 'Great. Let's get the money.'" They did, earning the first-place check in the My Frenchman Stakes.

Chasing Artie was trained by Saffie Joseph Jr., as was Parents Pride. Churchill and state regulators refused to let Joseph's colt Lord Miles race in the Derby.

"It crushes you. It knocks your confidence, it makes you doubt everything," Joseph said of the deaths.

Take Charge Briana

3-year-old filly; Was injured and fell during a May 2 race and was euthanized

This filly was bred by Willis Horton, a rancher and builder who died last year. She was trained by his longtime trainer, the Hall of Famer D. Wayne Lukas: "He had a great eye for a horse himself and he understood the game," said Lukas at the time of Horton's death last year. "He was game, and he wasn't afraid to step up and spend money on a good horse."

Take Charge Briana was ridden by Luis Saez, the same jockey who was on Chasing Artie.

Chloe's Dream

3-year-old gelding; Broke down during the second race on Kentucky Derby day and was euthanized

Chloe's Dream was named for the daughter of a business associate of Brook Smith, who operates the Rocket Ship Racing syndicate. Smith and his wife, Pam, are involved with the Backside Learning Center at Churchill, which offers education and wellness programs for racetrack workers and their families. Rocket Ship donates 10 percent of its winnings to the center. Smith took Chloe and her family to the paddock where he said Chloe's Dream looked "beautiful." When the gelding faltered coming out of the first turn, Smith said he and his party were traumatized.

"It leaves a hole in your stomach," Smith said. He added that he and his wife were not ready to return to the racetrack. "I can't go through it again."

Who Will Win The 148th Preakness?

Mage, ridden by Javier Castellano, executed a frantic stretch run to capture an unpredictable Kentucky Derby that saw five contenders, including the favorite, scratched ahead of the race.

Now, in only his fifth race, Mage moves on to Baltimore and the 148th Preakness Stakes, where he will be a Triple Crown contender and the only Derby horse in what is considered a weak field. First Mission, considered to be his biggest challenger, was scratched on Friday morning with a left hind ankle injury.

Below, the Preakness horses are listed in order of post position, with comments by Joe Drape and Melissa Hoppert of The New York Times. The morning-line odds, set by Keith Feustle of Pimlico Race Course, were revised to reflect the scratch.

How to watch: Coverage on Saturday begins on CNBC at 1 p.m. Eastern time and moves to NBC at 4:30 p.m. Coverage will also be streamed on Peacock, NBCSports.com and the NBC Sports app.

Purse: $1.5 million guaranteed

Distance: 1 3/16 miles

Track record: 1 minute 52 2/5 seconds (Farma Way, 1991)

Weight: 126 pounds

Post time: 7:01 p.m. Eastern

1. **National Treasure** > 3-1

Trainer Bob Baffert **Jockey** John Velazquez

DRAPE This colt looks to be the lone speed horse. If the Hall of Fame jockey can slow the fractions down, National Treasure is a threat to go gate to wire.

HOPPERT Baffert will add blinkers to try to get the fourth-place Santa Anita Derby finisher back on track after a promising 2-year-old season. Should he prevail, Baffert will set the record for the most Preakness wins with eight.

2. **Chase the Chaos** > 30-1

Trainer Ed Moger Jr. **Jockey** Sheldon Russell

DRAPE He raced the big boys in the San Felipe Stakes and was beaten by nearly 17 lengths. Once again, he is in too deep.

HOPPERT He earned a trip to the Preakness with a stakes win on synthetics in February, then was blown out in his next two races, one of which was on dirt. No thanks.

3. **Mage** > 4-5

Trainer Gustavo Delgado **Jockey** Javier Castellano

DRAPE Only two weeks rest off a grueling mile and a quarter? Big ask, but there are no world beaters in this bunch. Don't blame you if you eat the chalk.

HOPPERT With no other Derby runners in the race, there's no doubt he's the best in the field. But his persistent trouble breaking from the gate, coupled with what is expected to be a slow pace, does not bode well for him here.

ROB CARR/GETTY IMAGES

Mage, the Kentucky Derby winner and Preakness favorite, getting a bath on Thursday at Pimlico Race Course in Baltimore. There are no other Derby runners in the race.

4. **Coffeewithchris** > 20-1

Trainer John Salzman Jr. **Jockey** Jaime Rodriguez

DRAPE This Maryland-bred horse is honest and will try to push National Treasure early. He is going to be hard-pressed to keep up with him.

HOPPERT There's always one big local hope in this race, but the fifth-place finisher in the Federico Tesio Stakes will not be the one who breaks through.

5. **Red Route One** > 8-1

Trainer Steve Asmussen **Jockey** Joel Rosario

DRAPE Like Mage, this colt gets going late. Look for him to be chasing the Derby winner late.

HOPPERT Asmussen has finished second in the Preakness the last two years, and this year he'll be lucky to hit the board with this late-blooming and late-running colt.

6. **Perform** > 12-1

Trainer Shug McGaughey **Jockey** Feargal Lynch

DRAPE This colt found his mojo after switching to races over a mile long. He is on a two-race win streak and might clunk up for a third- or fourth-place finish.

HOPPERT The Federico Tesio winner was supplemented to Preakness for $150,000. His connections are taking a big leap.

7. **Blazing Sevens** > 5-1

Trainer Chad Brown **Jockey** Irad Ortiz Jr.

DRAPE Brown has won the Preakness twice with horses that skipped the Derby. Don't think a third victory is in the cards on Saturday.

HOPPERT One of three horses in the race sired by Good Magic, along with Mage and Perform. He finished third in the Blue Grass with Ortiz in the saddle and has some quality races under his belt.

EXPERT PICKS	WIN	PLACE	SHOW
JOE DRAPE	**Mage**	**Red Route One**	**National Treasure**
MELISSA HOPPERT	**National Treasure**	**Mage**	**Blazing Sevens**

Rev. Timothy Keller, 72, Is Dead; Pioneering Manhattan Evangelist

By SAM ROBERTS

The Rev. Timothy J. Keller, a best-selling author and theorist of Christianity who performed a modern miracle of his own — establishing a theologically orthodox church in Manhattan that attracted thousands of young professional followers — died on Friday at his home in Manhattan. He was 72.

His death was announced by Redeemer City to City, an organization affiliated with Redeemer Presbyterian Church. Mr. Keller announced on Twitter in December 2021 that he had Stage 4 pancreatic cancer.

Mr. Keller, whose only previous experience in the pulpit had been at a blue-collar congregation in a rural Virginia parish, moved with his wife and three sons to New York in 1989 and, with neither fire nor brimstone, embarked on what New York magazine hyperbolized as "close to a theological suicide mission — to create a strictly conservative Christian church in the heart of Sodom."

Colleagues, Mr. Keller recalled in his best-selling book "The Reason for God: Belief in an Age of Skepticism" (2008), "were incredulous when I explained that the beliefs of the new church would be the orthodox, historic tenets of Christianity — the infallibility of the Bible, the deity of Christ, the necessity of spiritual regeneration (the new birth)— all doctrines considered hopelessly dated by the majority of New Yorkers. Nobody ever said 'fuggedaboutit' out loud, but it always hung in the air.

"Nevertheless," he continued, "we launched Redeemer Presbyterian Church, and by the end of 2007 it had grown to more than 5,000 attendees and had spawned more than a dozen daughter congregations in the immediate metropolitan area."

Today the church has several locations in Manhattan, though the main one is on West 83rd Street near Amsterdam Avenue; the others are on the Lower West Side, on the West Side at Lincoln Square, on the Upper East Side and in East Harlem.

In addition to those who heard him preach in person at any one of those churches, thousands downloaded Mr. Keller's weekly sermons from the Redeemer website.

Shivani Gonzalez contributed reporting.

His dozens of books have been translated into 25 languages and sold an estimated 25 million copies.

"Fifty years from now," the journal Christianity Today wrote in 2006, "if evangelical Christians are widely known for their love of cities, their commitment to mercy and justice, and their love of their neighbors, Tim Keller will be remembered as a pioneer of the new urban Christians."

Evangelicals belong to any number of denominations but share a theology of salvation through faith in Christ alone. Mr. Keller's ministry was unlike that of many better-known figures in evangelicalism: He lacked a regular television platform and avoided being identified with a single political view.

Instead, he delivering pointed, professorial messages — in person, on podcasts, on blogs and in print — in conversational tones that invoked C.S. Lewis, the philosophers Michael Foucault and Thomas Kuhn, the 18th-century Japanese poet Issa, and even Woody Allen.

While shunning fire and brimstone, he attracted thousands of young followers.

He considered homosexuality to be inconsistent with scripture and premarital sex and abortion to be sins. "I am not going to pressure you to stop having sex out of marriage," he told The New York Times in 1998. "The logic of your relationship with Christ should move you to do it."

In an interview with The Atlantic in 2019, he said: "What we need is a non-oppressive moral absolute. We need moral absolutes that don't turn the bearers of those moral absolutes into oppressors themselves."

In 2017, Mr. Keller gave up his role as senior pastor of Redeemer Presbyterian Church and shifted to mentoring pastors to preside in churches seeded around the world by the offshoot organization Redeemer City to City, which influences urban ministries globally.

Redeemer Presbyterian Church also founded Hope for New York, an organization that deploys volunteers and distributes grants to ministries providing social services, and the Center for Faith and Work, which integrates Christian theology with professional experience.

Mr. Keller dissented from the widespread support that largely white evangelical Americans have shown for former President Donald J. Trump and his Republican allies. "For Christians just to completely hook up with one party or another is really idolatry," he told The Atlantic.

And he frequently drew — and tried to bridge — a distinction between that politically conservative American evangelicalism and the evangelical movement worldwide.

"There exists a far larger evangelicalism, both here and around the world, which is not politically aligned," Mr. Keller wrote in The New Yorker in 2017, describing it as a growing multiethnic movement rooted in theological beliefs that are conservative on issues like sex outside marriage and liberal on issues like racial justice and concern for the poor.

His death elicited a statement from former President George W. Bush, a fellow evangelical Christian, who said: "I'm fortunate to have gotten to know him. And I'm one of many who is blessed to have learned from Mr. Keller's teachings and benefited from his compassion."

Timothy James Keller was born on Sept. 23, 1950, in Allentown, Pa. His father, William was a television advertising manager. His mother, Louise (Clemente) Keller, was a nurse. They met during World War II, when William Keller was a conscientious objector assigned to care for patients in a mental ward.

Tim was raised Lutheran and embraced the church through the InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, a ministry active on college campuses, while he was attending Bucknell University in Pennsylvania, where he majored in religion.

He defined a fully formed Christian as "somebody who finds Christianity both rationally and intellectually credible, but also emotionally and existentially true and satisfying."

After he graduated with a bachelor's degree in 1972, he received a master's of divinity from Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary in Massachusetts in 1975 and a doctor of ministry degree from Westminster Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania in 1981. It was at Westminster that he met Kathy Louise Kristy, who decided against becoming a pastor because female ministers were not biblical. They married in 1975.

She survives him, along with three sons, David, Michael and Jonathan; a sister, Sharon Johnson; and seven grandchildren. Michael Keller is a pastor at Redeemer Lincoln Square.

Mr. Keller served with InterVarsity Christian Fellowship in Boston and was ordained there before serving as pastor for nine years in Hopewell, Va., while overseeing the development of new congregations in the Mid-Atlantic region for the Presbyterian Church.

When New York seemed so daunting that Mr. Keller's first two choices for pastor there turned him down, he felt compelled to accept the challenge himself.

"I just felt it would be cowardly of me not to," he told New York magazine. "But we had a kind of 'sick in the pit of our stomach' feeling every day."

"Big bad Whore of Babylon is where we were going," Mrs. Keller told the magazine.

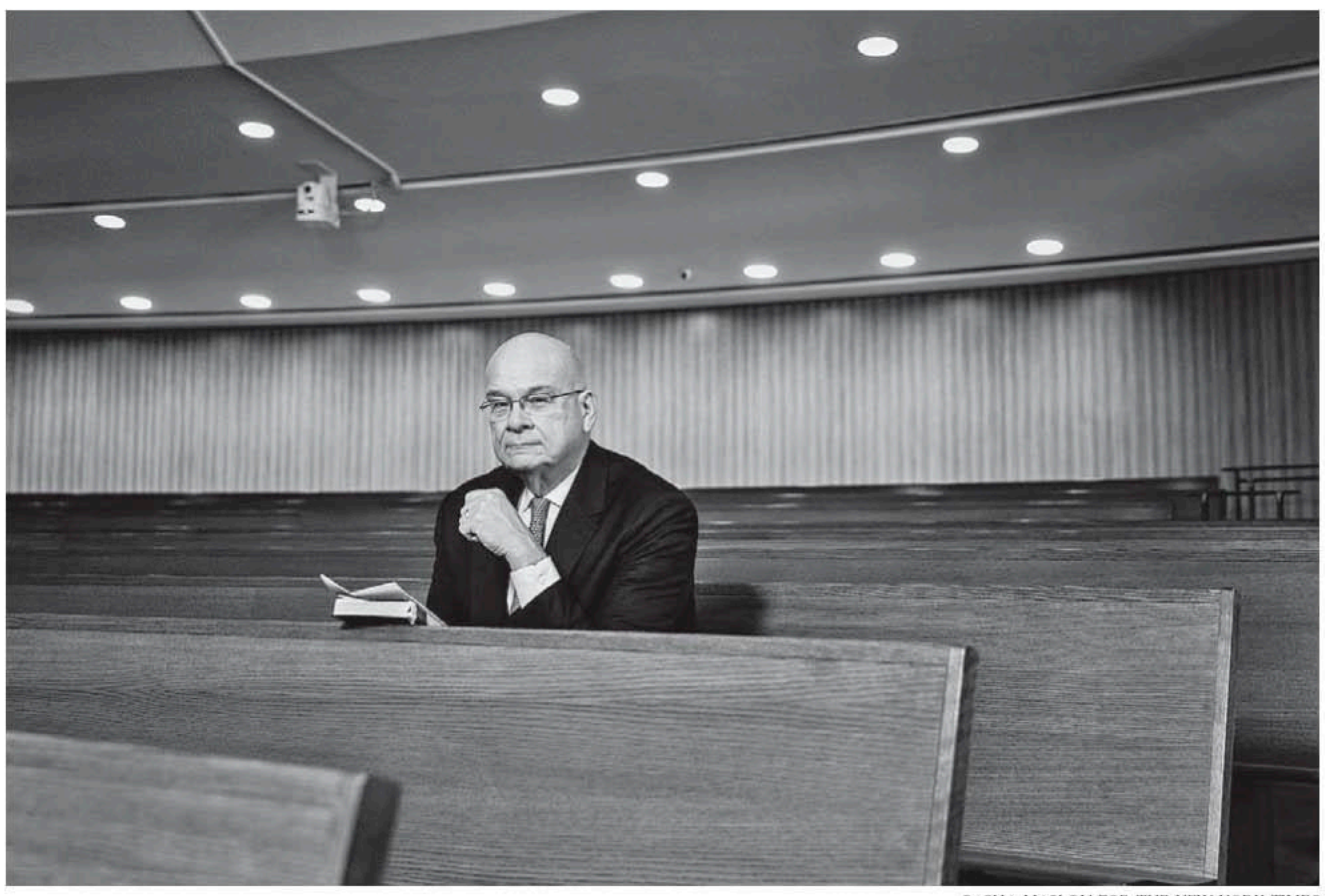
The family moved to an apartment on Roosevelt Island.

His success as founding pastor of Redeemer in 1989 and his experience with a bout of thyroid cancer in 2002 helped eliminate whatever doubts he had about God, he told the website First Things in 2008.

He reaffirmed that faith in his 2021 Twitter post announcing his cancer diagnosis, writing: "It is endlessly comforting to have a God who is both infinitely more wise and more loving than I am. He has plenty of good reasons for everything he does and allows that I cannot know, and therein is my hope and strength."

Mr. Keller encapsulated Redeemer's mission in one biblical passage, Proverbs, Chapter II, Verse 10: "When the righteous prosper, the city rejoices."

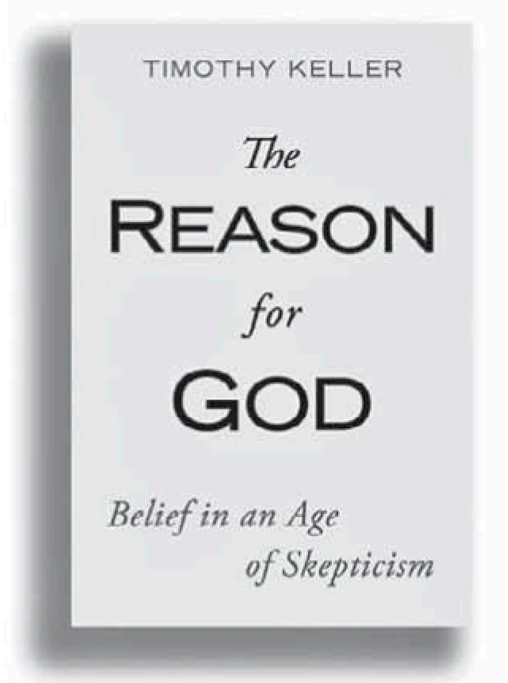
He told The Times, "I wanted to prove that the Gospel could change people even in New York."



SASHA MASLOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Rev. Timothy J. Keller at the Redeemer Presbyterian Church in Manhattan in 2016.

SASHA MASLOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Mr. Keller, who wrote dozens of books, was unlike better-known figures in evangelicalism: He lacked a regular television platform and avoided being identified with a single political view.

Andy Rourke, 59, Bassist for Smiths

By ALEX MARSHALL and ALEX WILLIAMS

Andy Rourke, the bass player who provided the muscle and drive behind the darkly poetic musings of the Smiths, one of the most influential bands of the 1980s, died on Friday in Manhattan. He was 59.

A representative said he died of pancreatic cancer at Memorial Sloan Kettering Center.

While Mr. Rourke — along with the band's drummer, Mike Joyce — received a tiny share of the accolades (and revenues), his sinewy bass lines provided both heft and melodicism behind Morrissey's lachrymose vocals, which bounced between elegiac and funereal, and Johnny Marr's intricate, layered guitar work, which could be almost symphonic in its complexity.

"The nature of the music that we were playing in the Smiths meant that the sound needed a bit more of a kick," Mr. Rourke said in a 2019 interview with Bass Player magazine. "And because it's me," he added, "every time I do something, I do it big."

Mr. Rourke's playing, influenced by Paul McCartney and John Entwistle of the Who, was always "habitually unsung," David Cavanagh, an Irish journalist, wrote in 1993, but it was also "incontrovertibly top drawer."

Discerning listeners understood Mr. Rourke's value. Morrissey once said that Mr. Rourke was good enough to have been in Elvis Presley's band. "He didn't ever know his own power, and nothing that he played had been played by someone else," Morrissey wrote in a tribute on his website after Mr. Rourke's death.

His sinewy bass lines were a vital part of the British rock band's success.

Mr. Rourke's nimble, often effervescent bass lines were often foregrounded in landmark songs like "This Charming Man," "Heaven Knows I'm Miserable Now" and "Cemetery Gates," all of which transformed the Smiths into a cult act in the United States and a chart-topping group in their home country.

Andrew Michael Rourke was born in Manchester, England, on Jan. 17, 1964. He met Mr. Marr at school in Manchester in 1975.

"We were best friends, going everywhere together," Mr. Marr wrote in a recent Instagram post, adding, "I soon came to realise that my mate was one of those rare people that absolutely no one doesn't like."

The Smiths formed in Manchester in 1982. The group had a couple of bassists before Mr. Marr brought in his childhood friend.

In a 2012 interview with The Guardian, Mr. Rourke recalled playing his first show with the band in a tiny gay club. The Smiths always "rehearsed to death," he said, so it was not surprising when they quickly soared in popularity.

As they rose to prominence, the four Smiths were inseparable. "We were a gang," he told Mojo. "A very tight band of brothers. When we were at our peak, nobody could penetrate that." Within two years, the Smiths had their first Top 10 hit in Britain with "Heaven Knows I'm Miserable Now."

But success brought problems, including a heroin habit that Mr. Rourke developed. "You start getting a bunch of money and you don't know what to do," he recalled in a 2011 interview. "You start spending it on drugs."

In 1986, Morrissey fired Mr. Rourke, reportedly via postcard, because of his drug use. But he soon rejoined the band.

The Smiths broke up for good in 1987 after releasing four albums. Two years later, Mr. Rourke and Mr. Joyce, the drummer, began legal proceedings against their former bandmates, claiming that they had been equal partners and should have been paid a bigger split of the royalties. (They had been given only 10 percent.)

Mr. Rourke eventually dropped his case after being offered 83,000 pounds (about $100,000). But Mr. Joyce went to court and a judge found in his favor, saying that Morrissey should pay him compensation of around a million pounds, according to news reports at the time.

As late as 2007, Mr. Rourke told the BBC that the Smiths' breakup "still smarts a bit." Still, not long after the split, he laid down bass tracks for solo singles by Morrissey like "Interesting Drug" (1989) and "Last of the Famous International Playboys" (1990).

Post-Smiths, he also played on albums by Sinead O'Connor and the Pretenders and toured with Badly Drawn Boy. In 2009, Mr. Rourke moved to New York, where he performed at clubs with the D.J. Olé Koretsky in a duo called Jetlag, which evolved into a band called D.A.R.K. when they enlisted Dolores O'Riordan of the Cranberries.

Information on survivors was not immediately available.

Long after his Smiths days, Mr. Rourke was asked about the origins of his melodic style. "It was just my love of bass playing," he said.

"If I wasn't eating or in the bath," he added, "I had a bass in my hand."

GETTY IMAGES

The Smiths — from left, Mr. Rourke, the singer Morrissey, the guitarist Johnny Marr and, in the back, the drummer Mike Joyce — in 1984. They broke up in 1987 after releasing four albums.

CRAIG BARRITT/GETTY IMAGES NORTH AMERICA

Andy Rourke of the Smiths in 2013. The band was among the most influential of the 1980s.

Deaths

Sughrue, Peter
Sutija, Vesna

SUGHRUE—Peter M., Sr., of Bridgehampton, NY, died Tuesday in New York City, from complications following heart surgery. He was 80 years old. Peter was born in Milton, MA, in May 1943. He attended B.C. High and College of the Holy Cross, and earned his MBA from Columbia University Business School in 1967. After graduation, Peter embarked on a career in the municipal bond business, spanning 40 years. Most notably, he was Head of Municipal Bond Trading, and later ran the Municipal Bond Department, at Citibank. His career also included stops at Salomon Brothers, Weeden & Co., E.F. Hutton, and Prager & Co., and he made many friends along the way. He enjoyed the energy, camaraderie, and friendly competition of bond trading. Peter and his wife, Janet, raised their two sons in New York City, and were enthusiastic members of their communities, as parents at St. David's School and as parishioners of St. Ignatius Loyola. Peter was an active member of the Bridgehampton Club, serving in myriad roles through the years, and as its President from 2013-2015. He loved watching his boys compete in tennis and golf tournaments, and could often be found on the courtside steps at Bridgehampton Club, or peering through binoculars from above the 9th green at Shinnecock, tracking a match. After retiring to his home in Bridgehampton, Peter immersed himself in the community there, volunteering in various capacities at the Bridgehampton Library, the Book Bay, the Good Shepherd community garden, and as a member of the Pastoral Council at Queen of the Most Holy Rosary church. Until recently, he served as President of the Board of Trustees of the Bridgehampton Museum, a role he embraced with great enthusiasm. When not busy with his many activities, Peter could often be found at the beach with the Sunday crossword, tending to his garden, or spending time with his beloved grandchildren. An avid bird enthusiast, Peter reveled in a rare bald eagle sighting, or studying a family of Ospreys in their nest. He was also a die-hard New England sports fan, unwavering in his devotion to the Sox, Pats, and Celts. Finally, Peter loved to play cards - a dangerous opponent at any poker table, Peter also enjoyed bridge in his later years. Peter was predeceased by his wife, Janet Halsey Sughrue. He is survived by son Peter Sughrue Jr, of New York City, his wife Vanessa, and their children Luke and India; son, Justin Sughrue, of New York City, his wife Samantha, and their children Meryl and John. Peter is also survived by his twin brother, Reverend Father Paul Sughrue of Lexington, MA, and his sister Virginia Crowley of Kennebunkport, ME. He will be waked at Frank E. Campbell funeral home on Monday, May 22, 2023 with visiting hours from 4:00pm-8:00pm. A Mass of Christian Burial will be offered at Queen of the Most Holy Rosary Church, Bridgehampton, NY, on Tuesday, May 23, 2023, at 11:00am. Burial service will be private. In lieu of flowers, charitable contributions may be made to The Bridgehampton Museum (P.O. Box 977, Bridgehampton, NY 11932), or the Janet H. Sughrue Memorial Fund at St. David's School (12 E. 89th St., New York, NY 10128).

Deaths

SUTIJA—Vesna Grudzinski.

age 84, passed away Sunday, May 14, 2023, after a long illness. Vesna was born in Prelog, Yugoslavia, the daughter of Dr. Alexander Grudzinski, a medical doctor, and his wife Mathilde nee Vindis. She grew up in Varazdin, where her father was head of the local children's clinic, and was an accomplished athlete, winning third place in high jump at the 1956 Croatian Junior championships. Together with her parents and sister, Vesna emigrated to the US in August 1958. She matriculated at NYU and finished her B.A. in Psychology with a minor in English in 1962, the same year that she married and gave birth to her son, Davor. She started graduate work in Psychology, but had a five year hiatus in Venezuela and Chile, where her husband George Sutija worked for the Ford Foundation. In Venezuela, she did research with Gunnar Svaetichin, working on intercellular recordings from retinal neurons. On returning to the US, she completed her PhD at NYU in 1975, and continued working in neurophysiology during three post- doctoral fellowships, at Bascom-Palmer Eye Institute, the University of Miami, and at Hunter College. In 1984, Dr. Sutija was appointed Assistant Research Professor at SUNY College of Optometry and promoted to a tenure- track position in 1988. Her passion was always vision research and the joy of teaching students and imbuing them with her love of the subject. After SUNY, she was Director of Research at New Jersey Medical Center, and at Methodist Hospital, Brooklyn, with joint appointments in Pediatrics and Obstetrics/Gynecology. Vesna had a keen interest in literature and theatre, regularly attending the 92NY's Poetry Center and Lincoln Center, and was a published poet and the author of a novel, Costly Illusions. She sang in the University of Miami choral ensemble, appearing with the choir at Carnegie Hall. She loved being with her friends, family, and co-workers, and held dinner parties which combined Croatian food with stimulating intellectual discussions. She is survived by son Davor Sutija, daughter-in-law Unni Byrkjeland, sister Tanya Bruck, niece Natasha Bruck, and grandchildren, Karina, Astrid, and Henrik Sutija. A viewing will be held at John Krtil Funeral Home, 1297 1st Avenue, 4pm-7pm, Thursday, May 25, 2023, and a Funeral Mass at Our Lady of Good Counsel Roman Catholic Church, 230 E. 90th Street, 10am, Friday, May 26, 2023.

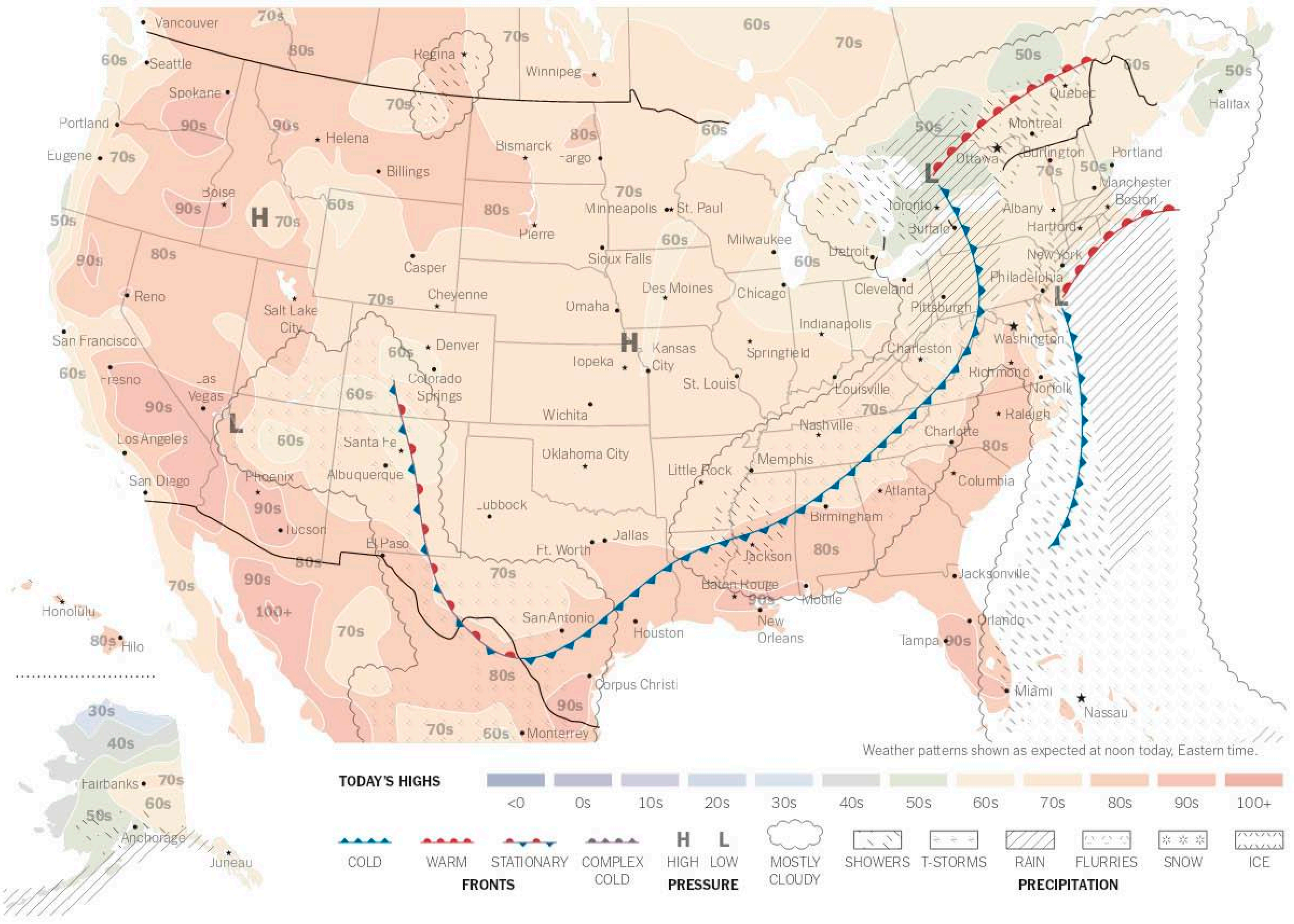
In Memoriam

ESCOFFIER—Jeffrey.
1942 - 2022
"Community and Perversity"
A Bigger than Life Realized.
You are with us always.

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DEATHS MAY BE TELEPHONED FROM WITHIN NYC TO 212-556-3900; OR OUTSIDE NYC TOLL FREE 1-800-458-5522; OR SENT BY EMAIL TO NYTIMES@CLASSIFIEDSPLUS.COM FOR THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS:
Until 4:00 PM the day before for Tuesday through Saturday editions, until 4:00 PM on Friday for Sunday's national edition, until 12:45 PM Saturday for Sunday's New York and late national editions, until 2:00 PM Sunday for Monday's editions. Photos must be submitted by noon the day prior to publication Tuesday through Friday. Photos for Saturday, Sunday and Monday must be submitted by 12 noon on Friday.

Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Metropolitan Forecast

TODAY .... Occasional rain

High 68. The sky will be cloudy through the day, with occasional rain and drizzle as low pressure moves along the coast. Winds will be light.

TONIGHT .... Rain and drizzle early

Low 57. Light rain and drizzle will end, leaving dry conditions later at night, though it will remain cloudy. Winds will be 4 to 8 miles per hour.

TOMORROW .... Partly sunny, warmer

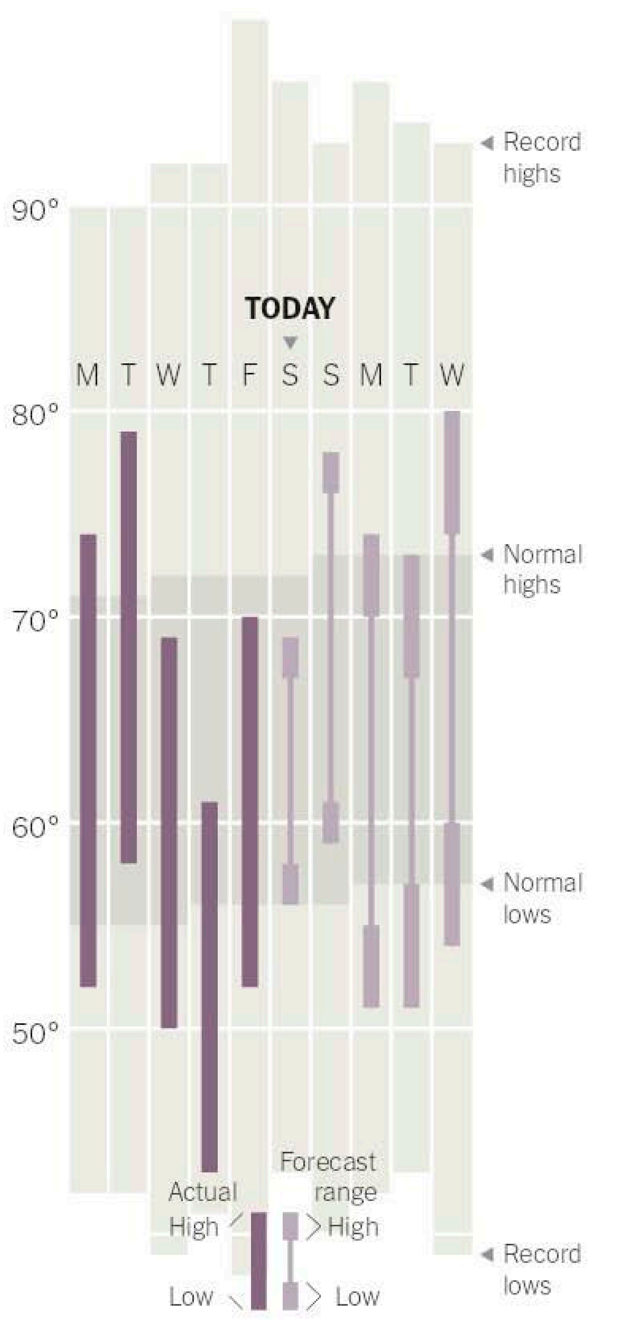
High 77. Clouds early could lead to increased sunshine through the day as another stretch of dry weather begins. Winds will be 6 to 12 m.p.h.

MONDAY .... Mostly sunny

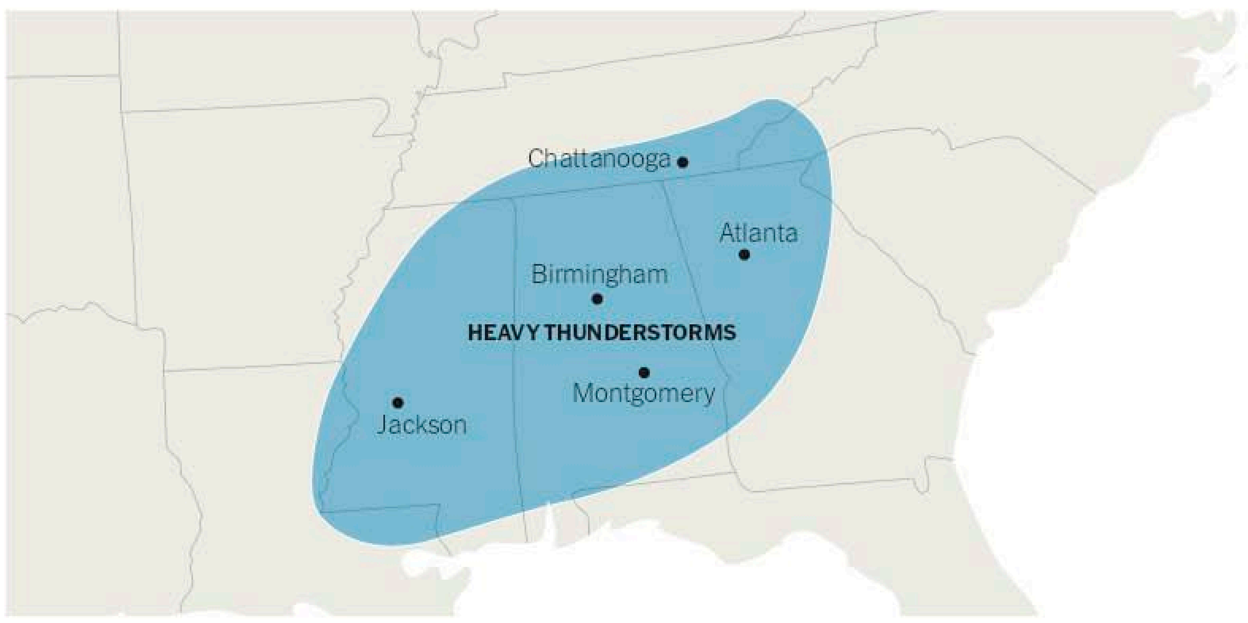
High pressure will make for a mostly sunny sky, though it will not be quite as warm. The expected high of 72 is near average. Winds will be light.

TUESDAY WEDNESDAY .... Mostly sunny

High pressure will remain across the Northeast on Tuesday and Wednesday, providing a mostly sunny sky. High 70 on Tuesday. High 77 on Wednesday.



Highlight: Downpours in the South



A storm will enhance showers and thunderstorms across portions of the Southeast into this evening. Widespread severe weather is not expected, but a few storms may bring heavy rain and gusty winds.

National Forecast

Storms will push north from the Mid-Atlantic region to New England tonight. The rain may offer a brief reprieve from building drought conditions.

Farther to the west, showers and thunderstorms will stretch along an advancing cold front from the eastern Great Lakes to the lower Mississippi Valley and coastal Texas. Much of the Midwest and Plains will dry out.

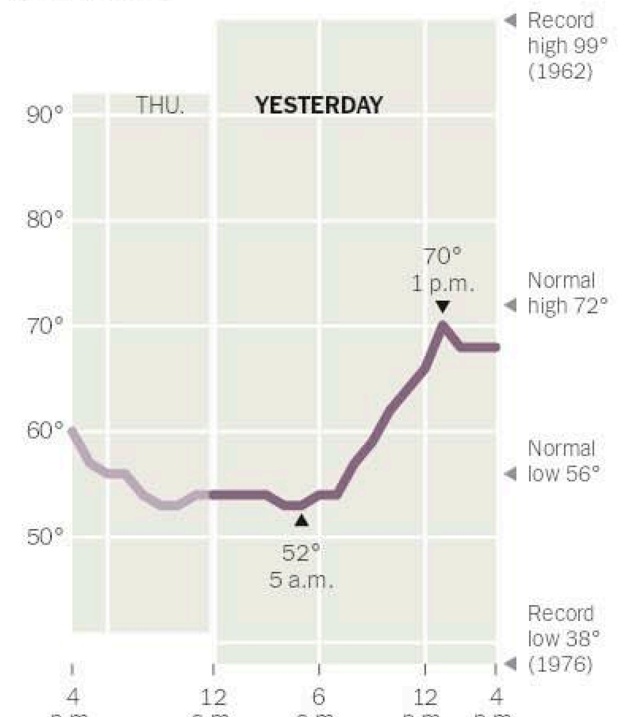
As more hot weather continues in the Northwest, a few storms will develop in the afternoon in portions of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona. Much of Nevada and California will be dry, with low clouds and sticky air continuing along the Pacific Coast.

Next week, showers and thunderstorms will gather near Florida, where the surf will become increasingly rough.

Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.

Temperature



Avg. daily departure from normal this month .... +0.1°

Avg. daily departure from normal this year .... +4.5°

Reservoir levels (New York City water supply)

Yesterday 98%
Est. normal 99%

Precipitation (in inches)

Yesterday 0.00
Record 2.02

For the last 30 days
Actual 7.71
Normal 3.86

For the last 365 days
Actual 45.82
Normal 49.52

LAST 30 DAYS

Air pressure

High .... 30.38 1 a.m.
Low .... 30.30 4 p.m.

Humidity

High .... 73% 4 a.m.
Low .... 43% 1 p.m.

Cooling Degree Days

An index of fuel consumption that tracks how far the day's mean temperature rose above 65

Yesterday 0
So far this month 34
So far this season (since January 1) 75
Normal to date for the season 41

Trends

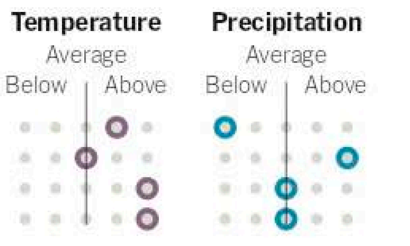


Chart shows how recent temperature and precipitation trends compare with those of the last 30 years.

Recreational Forecast

Sun, Moon and Planets

First Quarter	Full	Last Quarter	New
May 27	June 3 11:42 p.m.	June 10	June 18 12:37 a.m.

Sun	RISE 5:35 a.m.	SET 8:11 p.m.	NEXT R 5:34 a.m.		
Moon	R 5:56 a.m.	S 9:43 p.m.	R 6:38 a.m.		
Jupiter	R 4:19 a.m.	S 5:41 p.m.	**Mars**	R 9:50 a.m.	S 12:37 a.m.
Saturn	R 2:13 a.m.	S 1:06 p.m.	**Venus**	R 8:25 a.m.	S 11:47 p.m.

Boating

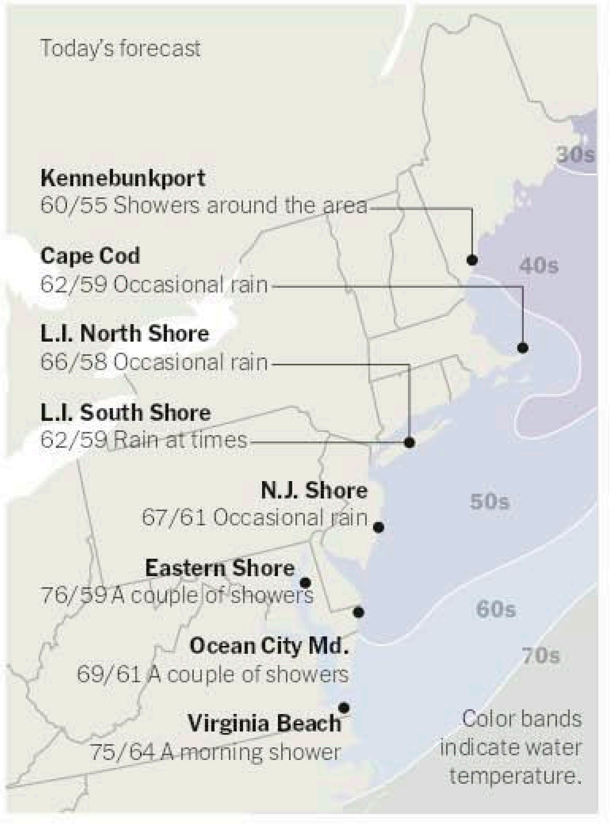
From Montauk Point to Sandy Hook, N.J., out to 20 nautical miles, including Long Island Sound and New York Harbor.

Winds will be out of the southeast at 10-20 knots, with gusts to 30 knots. Waves will be 1-3 feet on New York Harbor and Long Island Sound and 3-6 feet on the ocean. Rain will reduce visibility.

High Tides

Atlantic City	8:44 a.m.	8:58 p.m.
Barnegat Inlet	8:58 a.m.	9:12 p.m.
The Battery	9:36 a.m.	9:44 p.m.
Beach Haven	10:22 a.m.	10:34 p.m.
Bridgeport	12:03 a.m.	12:38 p.m.
City Island	12:24 a.m.	1:04 p.m.
Fire Island Lt.	9:50 a.m.	10:02 p.m.
Montauk Point	10:13 a.m.	10:27 p.m.
Northport	12:17 a.m.	12:51 p.m.
Port Washington	12:34 a.m.	1:13 p.m.
Sandy Hook	9:04 a.m.	9:16 p.m.
Shinnecock Inlet	8:42 a.m.	9:00 p.m.
Stamford	12:12 a.m.	12:48 p.m.
Tarrytown	11:25 a.m.	11:33 p.m.
Willets Point	12:19 a.m.	1:02 p.m.

Beach and Ocean Temperatures



Cloudy skies will line the Northeast Coast as low pressure moves to the north. Rain will spread along the coast, beginning in southern New England during the morning and reaching northern areas by the afternoon. A strong southeast wind is expected to lead to large waves and dangerous surf conditions.

Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C	Clouds	S	Sun
F	Fog	Sn	Snow
H	Haze	SS	Snow showers
I	Ice	T	Thunderstorms
PC	Partly cloudy	Tr	Trace
R	Rain	W	Windy
Sh	Showers	–	Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	70/ 52 0	68/ 57 R	77/ 57 PC
Bridgeport	66/ 49 0	63/ 56 R	74/ 55 PC
Caldwell	69/ 43 0	68/ 55 R	78/ 54 PC
Danbury	67/ 41 0	67/ 51 R	74/ 51 PC
Islip	66/ 47 0	65/ 59 R	73/ 55 C
Newark	70/ 52 0	70/ 61 R	81/ 59 PC
Trenton	70/ 45 0	68/ 56 Sh	76/ 53 S
White Plains	67/ 44 0	65/ 54 R	75/ 53 PC

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	73/ 53 0	69/ 52 Sh	75/ 48 PC
Albuquerque	70/ 53 0.52	73/ 54 T	75/ 54 T
Anchorage	59/ 46 0.16	58/ 43 PC	56/ 41 S
Atlanta	74/ 62 0	80/ 65 T	81/ 64 PC
Atlantic City	64/ 59 0	68/ 59 R	73/ 57 PC
Austin	90/ 67 0	80/ 66 T	80/ 61 PC
Baltimore	74/ 54 0	78/ 57 Sh	81/ 58 S
Baton Rouge	92/ 72 0.04	90/ 69 T	83/ 69 PC
Birmingham	78/ 66 0.08	80/ 64 T	83/ 63 PC
Boise	89/ 58 0	91/ 61 S	89/ 56 T
Boston	70/ 54 0	65/ 59 R	76/ 56 C
Buffalo	74/ 59 0	62/ 50 R	68/ 49 S
Burlington	74/ 56 0	73/ 53 Sh	71/ 43 PC
Casper	70/ 36 0	77/ 42 T	76/ 45 PC
Charlotte	74/ 59 Tr	81/ 63 T	78/ 56 Sh
Chattanooga	79/ 65 0	77/ 60 T	82/ 61 PC
Chicago	72/ 49 0.17	69/ 53 S	76/ 52 PC
Cincinnati	79/ 57 0.07	70/ 49 PC	75/ 54 S
Cleveland	77/ 56 0.07	62/ 48 PC	73/ 52 S
Colorado Springs	57/ 50 0.39	66/ 49 T	73/ 50 T
Columbus	77/ 57 0.08	70/ 48 PC	77/ 53 S
Concord, N.H.	74/ 47 0	64/ 55 R	74/ 48 PC
Dallas-Ft. Worth	90/ 64 0.45	79/ 62 C	80/ 61 C
Denver	62/ 47 0.04	72/ 50 T	74/ 51 T
Des Moines	67/ 45 0	71/ 51 S	77/ 54 S
Detroit	78/ 51 0.10	65/ 48 PC	79/ 51 S
El Paso	90/ 64 0	82/ 61 T	88/ 64 T
Fargo	65/ 44 Tr	77/ 51 PC	81/ 55 S
Hartford	70/ 50 0	64/ 56 R	76/ 53 PC
Honolulu	80/ 72 0.10	85/ 74 Sh	85/ 75 Sh
Houston	90/ 70 0	86/ 68 T	82/ 66 C
Indianapolis	81/ 51 0.05	70/ 49 S	76/ 54 PC
Jackson	87/ 66 0.04	86/ 65 T	79/ 61 PC
Jacksonville	85/ 67 0.10	85/ 68 T	85/ 67 T
Kansas City	68/ 47 0.02	71/ 50 S	78/ 55 PC
Key West	88/ 78 0	88/ 78 T	86/ 78 Sh
Las Vegas	96/ 73 0	93/ 74 PC	95/ 75 S
Lexington	79/ 60 0.07	72/ 49 S	76/ 53 S
Little Rock	88/ 66 0.40	76/ 59 S	77/ 57 PC
Los Angeles	75/ 58 0	76/ 58 PC	78/ 61 PC
Louisville	81/ 60 0.07	73/ 53 S	78/ 58 S
Memphis	86/ 66 0.10	72/ 58 R	78/ 59 PC
Miami	88/ 75 0.04	88/ 76 T	90/ 75 T
Milwaukee	68/ 49 0.07	65/ 54 S	71/ 49 PC
Mpls.-St. Paul	58/ 46 0	72/ 53 S	77/ 55 S
Nashville	78/ 66 0.04	72/ 54 R	78/ 56 PC
New Orleans	89/ 74 0	90/ 74 T	85/ 73 PC
Norfolk	65/ 62 0.17	77/ 64 C	71/ 58 T
Oklahoma City	73/ 53 0.32	70/ 52 PC	74/ 56 PC
Omaha	69/ 42 0	73/ 50 S	80/ 56 S
Orlando	91/ 71 0.05	91/ 72 T	89/ 73 T
Philadelphia	72/ 56 0	74/ 59 Sh	80/ 59 S
Phoenix	92/ 73 0.04	96/ 75 PC	98/ 76 S
Pittsburgh	76/ 58 0.05	66/ 46 Sh	74/ 49 S
Portland, Me.	63/ 47 0	59/ 53 Sh	70/ 49 C
Portland, Ore.	84/ 59 0	81/ 56 PC	72/ 54 C
Providence	65/ 52 0	64/ 58 R	75/ 55 C
Raleigh	74/ 58 0.34	86/ 64 T	79/ 57 T
Reno	89/ 58 0	89/ 57 C	85/ 57 T
Richmond	70/ 57 0	82/ 59 T	78/ 56 C
Rochester	77/ 58 0	64/ 50 R	73/ 45 S
Sacramento	85/ 55 0	80/ 54 S	86/ 57 S
Salt Lake City	82/ 60 0	86/ 63 S	85/ 64 T
San Antonio	91/ 70 0	80/ 67 T	80/ 63 PC
San Diego	69/ 61 0	69/ 61 PC	71/ 62 PC
San Francisco	63/ 55 0	63/ 56 PC	66/ 54 PC
San Jose	76/ 55 0	72/ 53 PC	77/ 55 PC
San Juan	84/ 76 0.46	86/ 76 T	87/ 76 C
Seattle	76/ 57 0	76/ 53 PC	64/ 47 C
Sioux Falls	60/ 41 0	73/ 46 S	81/ 56 S
Spokane	86/ 61 0	89/ 61 S	79/ 50 T
St. Louis	80/ 53 0.22	73/ 54 S	79/ 59 S
St. Thomas	89/ 78 0.29	86/ 78 Sh	87/ 79 Sh
Syracuse	77/ 55 0	67/ 49 Sh	73/ 46 PC
Tampa	92/ 75 0.04	92/ 76 T	90/ 75 T
Toledo	81/ 51 0.05	68/ 47 PC	81/ 55 S
Tucson	89/ 65 0	93/ 65 S	95/ 68 S
Tulsa	72/ 54 0.75	73/ 51 PC	77/ 55 PC
Virginia Beach	67/ 63 0.22	74/ 64 C	72/ 58 T
Washington	74/ 57 0	78/ 59 T	79/ 60 S
Wichita	65/ 47 1.10	72/ 51 PC	77/ 55 PC
Wilmington, Del.	71/ 55 0	76/ 58 Sh	81/ 56 S

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	64/ 55 0.25	70/ 49 Sh	76/ 60 S
Cairo	82/ 64 0	85/ 67 S	96/ 80 S
Cape Town	64/ 43 0	65/ 57 PC	65/ 44 Sh
Dakar	81/ 74 0	82/ 73 S	81/ 73 PC
Johannesburg	63/ 48 0	63/ 44 S	67/ 43 S
Nairobi	80/ 60 0	81/ 57 PC	81/ 60 PC
Tunis	71/ 62 0.09	71/ 62 C	76/ 61 W

Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	106/ 76 0	93/ 68 T	95/ 73 PC
Bangkok	100/ 82 0	103/ 83 PC	101/ 82 T
Beijing	77/ 56 0.08	79/ 58 PC	79/ 57 PC
Damascus	81/ 54 0	81/ 53 S	83/ 58 C
Hong Kong	90/ 80 0.09	89/ 80 T	90/ 80 T
Jakarta	90/ 78 0	91/ 78 T	90/ 78 T
Jerusalem	70/ 57 0	71/ 53 Sh	79/ 63 PC
Karachi	95/ 75 0	95/ 82 PC	94/ 82 W
Manila	91/ 80 0.09	90/ 80 T	91/ 81 T
Mumbai	93/ 83 0	93/ 83 S	94/ 83 PC
New Delhi	102/ 76 0	107/ 82 PC	110/ 88 PC
Riyadh	95/ 81 0	104/ 77 S	104/ 79 S
Seoul	82/ 59 0	78/ 60 PC	74/ 56 T
Shanghai	81/ 64 0	84/ 65 PC	85/ 65 PC
Singapore	88/ 78 0.46	88/ 79 T	88/ 78 T
Sydney	68/ 47 0	67/ 50 S	66/ 48 W
Taipei City	82/ 73 1.34	84/ 73 C	86/ 73 Sh
Tehran	92/ 70 0	92/ 71 PC	84/ 67 C
Tokyo	75/ 63 0.28	74/ 64 PC	76/ 67 PC

Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	64/ 44 0	67/ 55 PC	68/ 55 C
Athens	79/ 61 0	78/ 64 PC	72/ 62 T
Berlin	66/ 44 0	71/ 56 PC	79/ 56 T
Brussels	64/ 42 0	66/ 53 PC	69/ 54 T
Budapest	75/ 50 0.03	79/ 57 PC	79/ 55 PC
Copenhagen	59/ 43 0	63/ 51 PC	69/ 53 PC
Dublin	61/ 45 0	61/ 46 PC	63/ 48 Sh
Edinburgh	64/ 46 0	63/ 50 PC	62/ 49 PC
Frankfurt	68/ 46 0	68/ 56 PC	80/ 57 PC
Geneva	64/ 47 0.07	67/ 53 T	73/ 54 T
Helsinki	61/ 36 0	70/ 41 S	74/ 46 PC
Istanbul	63/ 56 0.02	69/ 55 C	68/ 57 Sh
Kyiv	68/ 59 0	75/ 51 PC	70/ 49 PC
Lisbon	75/ 58 0	76/ 58 PC	72/ 55 PC
London	63/ 48 0	66/ 46 PC	66/ 50 PC
Madrid	72/ 46 0	69/ 50 PC	70/ 51 T
Moscow	63/ 50 0.03	60/ 47 PC	66/ 52 PC
Nice	65/ 60 0.36	68/ 61 R	73/ 62 R
Oslo	63/ 44 0	73/ 45 S	76/ 49 PC
Paris	68/ 46 0	68/ 53 T	71/ 56 T
Prague	61/ 43 0	73/ 52 T	77/ 53 T
Rome	72/ 58 0.11	70/ 60 R	74/ 56 T
St. Petersburg	60/ 42 0	66/ 47 PC	70/ 49 C
Stockholm	67/ 37 0	66/ 40 S	70/ 43 PC
Vienna	64/ 44 0	75/ 54 T	77/ 55 T
Warsaw	57/ 49 0.10	73/ 51 PC	75/ 49 PC

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	90/ 75 0	90/ 76 PC	92/ 77 S
Bermuda	74/ 67 0	76/ 69 PC	77/ 70 Sh
Edmonton	80/ 47 0	85/ 51 PC	83/ 52 PC
Guadalajara	86/ 62 0	79/ 62 T	88/ 62 S
Havana	91/ 68 0	89/ 70 T	89/ 71 PC
Kingston	91/ 80 0	90/ 79 T	90/ 78 T
Martinique	86/ 77 0.30	89/ 76 PC	89/ 77 Sh
Mexico City	80/ 55 0	79/ 58 T	77/ 57 Sh
Monterrey	90/ 68 0	85/ 68 T	80/ 68 T
Montreal	75/ 44 0	66/ 52 C	70/ 42 PC
Nassau	85/ 76 0.56	85/ 76 Sh	87/ 75 S
Panama City	95/ 76 0	88/ 76 T	88/ 74 T
Quebec City	71/ 37 0	66/ 53 C	65/ 35 Sh
Santo Domingo	91/ 73 0	88/ 73 T	88/ 73 T
Toronto	75/ 47 0	62/ 47 R	74/ 44 S
Vancouver	67/ 55 0	69/ 56 C	66/ 51 PC
Winnipeg	66/ 39 0.07	80/ 48 PC	71/ 52 PC

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	66/ 60 0.31	62/ 57 C	67/ 61 C
Caracas	88/ 74 0.06	89/ 75 T	90/ 74 T
Lima	75/ 68 0	75/ 69 PC	76/ 68 PC
Quito	69/ 46 0.14	65/ 48 R	65/ 50 Sh
Recife	84/ 76 0.07	82/ 76 PC	84/ 75 Sh
Rio de Janeiro	75/ 66 0	77/ 65 S	77/ 69 PC
Santiago	70/ 45 0	69/ 46 S	61/ 44 Sh

A gift for someone who likes things **SWEET** or anyone who aims for **EASY**. A gift for a bestie who went from cooking **FOR ONE** to cooking **FOR TWO**. A gift for a co-worker who considers **PASTA** a food group. A gift for the family who all agree to eat **DESSERT** first. A gift for the loved one who is **VEGAN** curious.

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2 FILM

Harrison Ford says farewell to Indy. BY KYLE BUCHANAN

5 PODCASTS

Exploring why hip-hop blogs mattered. BY REGGIE UGWU

7 TRAVEL

A writer found her Greenwich Village in Nebraska.

BY CARSON VAUGHAN

NEWS | CRITICISM

Arts

The New York Times

SATURDAY, MAY 20, 2023 C1

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Reimagining a blockbuster film in the age of climate change and consumerism.

Jibz Cameron, who performs as Dynasty Handbag, is the creative force behind "Titanic Depression," which opens at Pioneer Works in Brooklyn this weekend.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY RYAN PFLUGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Buoyant Spirit Upends an Unsinkable Tale

By MELENA RYZIK

In some ways, turning the movie "Titanic" into a farce about climate change makes a lot of narrative sense. Instead of an iceberg — which has melted, of course — the ship goes down because it hits a mountain of underwater garbage.

In other ways, "Titanic Depression," a new multimedia performance, could only have come from the madcap brain of Dynasty Handbag, the queer vaudevillian with punk origins and questionable taste in unitards.

The 1997 movie was a blockbuster, sure, but Dynasty Handbag's vision may be even more epic than James Cameron's. Clad mostly in frilly underwear, with a recalcitrant therapist on speed-text, she's a bawdy version of Rose (Kate Winslet's character in the movie). Jack, the Leonardo DiCaprio love interest, is played by an octopus, who sneaks aboard the vessel disguised as a fanciful hat. Billy Zane's villainous snob is replaced by a dildo in a black loafer. A camel and a microscopic tardigrade make cameos. Mark Zuckerberg is there. The whole thing is a metaphor about the seeming futility of fighting industrial capitalism and impending environmental doom, but it is also: a hilarious romp! A sexcapade, with consent forms! A self-own, with a pause for meditation — about death! And Dynasty Handbag, the alter ego of the artist Jibz Cameron, inhabits all the parts.

Cameron, 48, has been working various stages in San Francisco, New York and Los Angeles as Dynasty Handbag for over 20 years, building a fan base both at august

CONTINUED ON PAGE C6

Rushdie Appears at PEN Gala

The novelist got an award for courage at the group's event.

By JENNIFER SCHUESSLER

Salman Rushdie walked onstage at PEN America's annual gala on Thursday night, his first public appearance since he was stabbed and gravely wounded in an attack last August at a literary event in Western New York.

His appearance at the gala, which had not been announced, was a surprise. But no surprise, to those who know him, was that he began his speech with a joke.

"Well, hi everybody," Rushdie said, as the crowd at the American Museum of Natural History in Manhattan greeted him with whoops and a standing ovation. "It's nice to

CONTINUED ON PAGE C4

REBECCA SMEYNE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Salman Rushdie at the American Museum of Natural History on Thursday. His appearance at the annual gala was not publicized beforehand.

BLAKE GOPNIK | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Warhol Ruling Sets Up Creativity vs. Commerce

A decision limited to licensing could still have a chilling effect.

THE ARTIST ERIC DOERINGER remembers that his mother was worried, last year, when the Supreme Court took up a case about Andy Warhol's right to use someone else's photograph to make his own silkscreened image of the pop star Prince.

As one of Warhol's most committed descendants, Doeringer makes "appropriation art" that most often copies images made by other artists — including, often, by Warhol himself — so his mother wondered what might be in store for her son (now 48) if the court ruled that Warhol's signature move had been out of line all along.

Museums and artists' foundations shared her concerns, as some had expressed to the court. A judgment against Warhol, said one of their early briefs, might expose "artists, as well as the institutions that display their works, to new and dramatically expanded liability for copyright infringement." It even threatened to impose "a deep chill on artistic progress, as creative appropriation of existing images has been a staple of artistic

CONTINUED ON PAGE C2

BLAKE GOPNIK | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Creativity vs. Commerce in Warhol Ruling

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

development for centuries."

For many in the art world, including this critic, that chill seemed to have arrived early Thursday, when a seven-justice majority released its ruling that Warhol should not, in fact, have used a Lynn Goldsmith photograph of Prince to his own creative ends.

In its decision, the court said that in 2016, when the Pop artist's heirs at the Andy Warhol Foundation licensed his silk-screened version of Goldsmith's shot to Condé Nast after the artist's death, they didn't have the right to use the image without paying her. A lower court will now get to decide what she is owed by the foundation.

However, on close reading of the court's 39-page decision, written by Justice Sonia Sotomayor, Warhol's loss might not lead to the end of appropriation art's six-decade run. The decision seems to have been narrower than that.

It turned out that what the majority actually had problems with — what the decision was mostly about — was the Warhol Foundation's failure to pay Goldsmith a licensing fee in 2016. It looked like the court had sidestepped the larger issue of whether Warhol should have used her image at all.

A single sentence in the decision might bring still deeper relief: "The Court expresses no opinion as to the creation, display, or sale of any of the original Prince Series works," the justices said, referring to the series of silk-screened paintings and prints that Warhol had made from Goldsmith's photo. According to Thursday's decision, all those original Warhols, on canvas and paper, had just as much right to go on existing and circulating — being shown and seen and bought and sold — as they had before.

And if those Prince silk-screens might have that right, then by extension all the other works of artistic appropriation, by Warhol and descendants of his, such as Elaine Sturtevant, Sherrie Levine and Richard Prince, and by later followers such as Doeringer, might have the same protections. Or that's what this new ruling would let some artists and their lawyers argue.

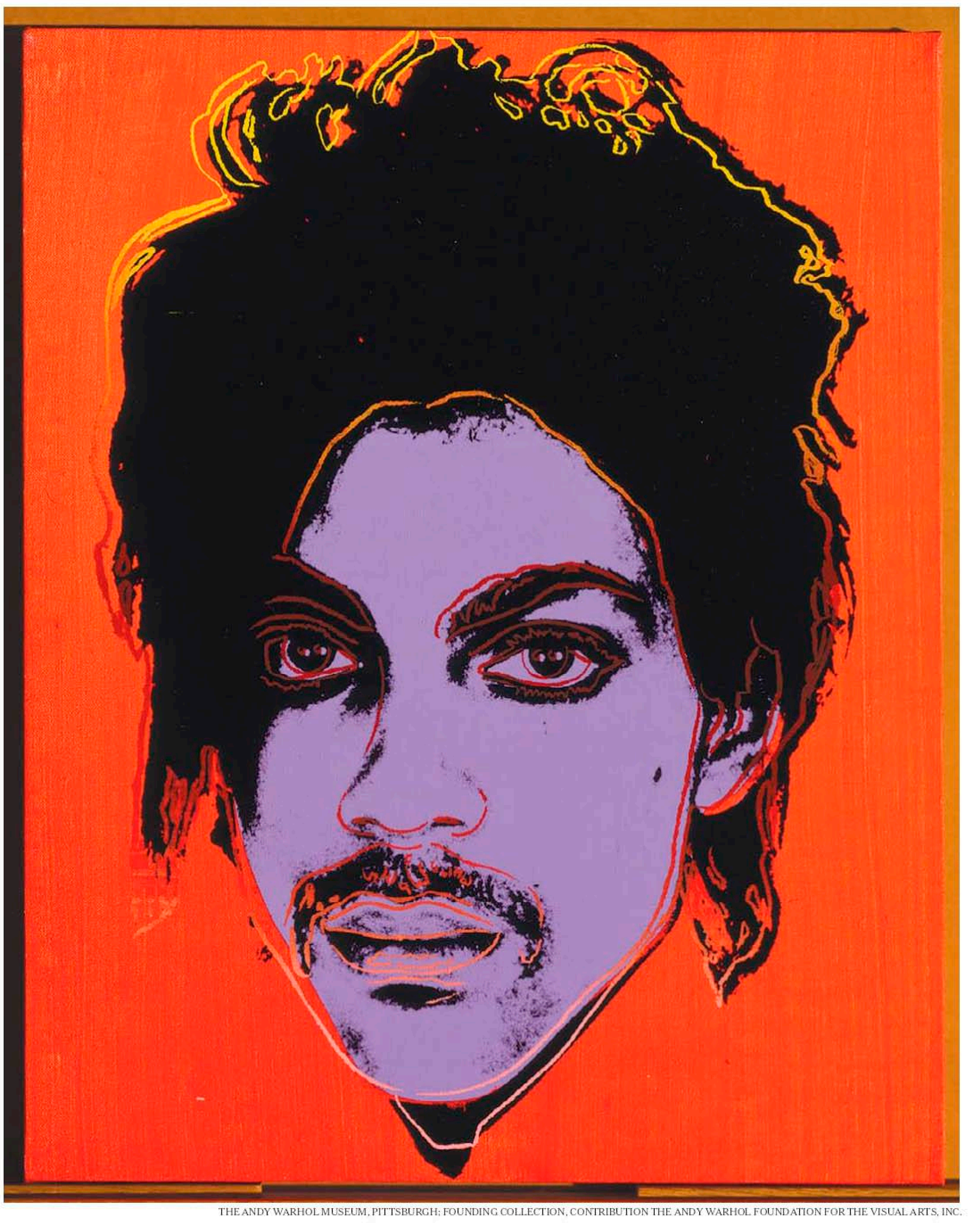
At the very least, the ruling won't send museums rushing to consign the appropriations they own to the dark depths of the vaults, as a more sweeping ruling against Warhol might have done. So long as appropriation artists aren't selling licenses for their creations to be reproduced — for instance, in a popular magazine — the Supreme Court's decision should not affect them.

"Should" is the operative word. Amy Adler, a law professor at New York University, points out that few artists have the kind of licensing market that Warhol does. "He's sort of a unicorn in that way," she said, on a call shortly after the court's ruling came down. Limiting the case strictly to the licensing issue, as the court seems to have done, would actually make it "irrelevant to most artists," Adler said.

Her worry, she explained, is that the Supreme Court came to its narrow decision about licensing by way of reasoning that might unmoor protections that appropriation art had already seemed to enjoy in borrowing from other images.

Copyright law is supposed to leave room for the "fair use" of someone else's creation, but this decision might be read as making Warhol's use of Goldsmith's image "fair" in the art world, but unfair where something closer to pure commerce is involved, such as licensing — in magazines but possibly in museum gift shops or on T-shirts.

Additional reporting was contributed by Zachary Small.



THE ANDY WARHOL MUSEUM, PITTSBURGH; FOUNDING COLLECTION, CONTRIBUTION THE ANDY WARHOL FOUNDATION FOR THE VISUAL ARTS, INC.

VIA ERIC DOERINGER

Andy Warhol created a series of silk-screen images of Prince, above, in 1984 for Vanity Fair, in which he cropped Lynn Goldsmith's black-and-white photograph, resized it and added color. The images became the subject of a copyright dispute that the Supreme Court ruled on this week. Left, Eric Doeringer's "Andy Warhol (Flowers)" (2012) is a close copy of a Warhol original, which was based on an image by another photographer.

Adler sees problems with the court's notion that our culture will not suffer if the Andy Warhol Foundation is made "to pay Goldsmith a fraction of the proceeds from its reuse of her copyrighted work," as the decision said.

What if Goldsmith were to insist on being paid a billion dollars for a license, or demanded mere thousands from some struggling appropriation artist who could not afford even that? All of a sudden Goldsmith would have close to a veto over someone else's artistic expression, or at the very least its media reproduction.

"If it's fair use, it should be fair use to do whatever you want with it," Doeringer said. "It feels like censorship to be told that my form of expression is not really mine," he added — that someone else can decide how much he must pay to express himself, and therefore whether he can do so at all.

That may be at stake in another passage in the decision that Adler points to, where the court talks about how a "modest alteration" to someone else's image, like the change Warhol made to Goldsmith's — adding color to her black-and-white image, cropping it — might not be enough to permit its reuse.

But in that case, there goes the basic notion behind appropriation art — that appropriation works *because* it does so little to alter its source. Like in the classic case of Warhol's Campbell Soups or Brillo Boxes, which look so much like the commercial goods. "That you're taking this thing, and not changing it — that's where the power is, but that's what the law has a hard time wrapping its head around," Doeringer said.

In a fierce dissent, Justice Elena Kagan seemed to agree, chiding that the majority might just have to "go back to school" to learn such basics of art history. (She cites

'One work builds on what has gone before; and later works build on that one; and so on through time.'
JUSTICE ELENA KAGAN

this author, among others, in her dissent.) Joined by Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., the dissent says that in the majority's ruling: "All of Warhol's artistry and social commentary is negated by one thing: Warhol licensed his portrait to a magazine, and Goldsmith sometimes licensed her photos to magazines too. That is the sum and substance of the majority opinion."

Kagan argues that the majority has applied a "commercialism-trumps-creativity analysis" and just doesn't care that, even if they looked rather the same, any works the two artists might have offered up for licensing would have been completely different kinds of art — a photographic portrait vs. a silk-screened piece of appropriation art. And therefore, if the two works are fundamentally unalike, the appropriation shouldn't have to pay just to exist alongside its source.

"Creative progress unfolds through use and reuse, framing and reframing: One work builds on what has gone before; and later works build on that one; and so on through time," Kagan writes. "In declining to acknowledge the importance of transformative copying," she concludes, "the Court today, and for the first time, turns its back on how creativity works."

By narrowing its decision to the licensing issue, the majority clearly believes it has left room for creatives to do their thing. But what if those creatives stand less convinced, said Virginia Rutledge, a curator turned lawyer who co-authored a brief in a famous copyright case involving appropriation art by Richard Prince. They might begin to "slide down the fear hill" of seeking licenses for every appropriation they have in mind and not creating anything they can't license. "We know self-censorship is real, at individual and institutional levels," Rutledge said.

Thursday's ruling may turn out to be just the latest case in which a Supreme Court judgment has effects far beyond what the justices had in mind.

Bidding a Teary Goodbye to Indiana Jones

Harrison Ford, who is thankful for the role of a lifetime, knows that it is time to move on.

By KYLE BUCHANAN

CANNES, FRANCE — Harrison Ford was beginning to tear up and the movie hadn't even started yet.

It all went down Thursday night at the Cannes Film Festival premiere of "Indiana Jones and the Dial of Destiny," part of the five-film adventure franchise that Ford kicked off when he was 37 years old and now, at 80, is bringing to a conclusion. After Ford took his seat in the Grand Théâtre Lumière, the festival director, Thierry Frémaux, addressed him from the stage. "We have something special for you," he said.

Ford raised his eyebrows. A surprise? Well, a clip reel — or as Frémaux put it, an "hommage." And as Frémaux continued to speak, Ford's lower lip began to quiver.

As an actor, Ford can be beguilingly vulnerable — watch the way his eyes widen when he takes an onscreen sucker punch — but as a public figure, he has a reputation as a curmudgeon. This is a man who says no more than he has to in interviews, and attempts to probe his emotional state are typically swatted away.

But something is different this time around. As Frémaux cued the clip reel, Ford pressed his hands together, brought them to his lips and blew Frémaux an appreciative kiss. A montage followed that tracked Ford's career from its humble beginnings through the explosive superstardom of "Star Wars" and "Indiana Jones," and when he was brought up to the stage afterward to receive an honorary Palme d'Or, Ford's voice trembled. "I just saw my life flash before my eyes," he joked.

He was even more emotional two and a half hours later when "Dial of Destiny" ended, the lights came up and a cameraman scurried back over to capture Ford's reaction. The actor's eyes were wet with tears that he made no effort to brush away, and asked about it the next day at a news conference for the film, Ford had to collect himself.

"It was indescribable. I felt. . . . " He paused, then chuckled softly. "I can't even tell you," he said. "It's just extraordinary to see a kind of relic of your life as it passes by. But the warmth of this place, the sense of community, the welcome is unimaginable. It makes me feel good."

In its initial bow on the Croisette, "Dial of Destiny" has so far received mixed reviews. It's the first in the series to be directed by someone other than Steven Spielberg — this time, it's James Mangold ("Walk the Line," "Logan") — and the changeover is noticeable: "Dial of Destiny" is missing Spielberg's sense of humor and the giddy pleasure that's conjured just from the inventive way he blocks a scene.

But Ford holds the whole thing together as its star. Though he's introduced in a prologue that digitally de-ages him, by the time the movie arrives in 1969, Ford's Indiana seems every bit as weathered as the artifacts he searches for. Gray-haired, estranged from his wife, Marion (Karen Allen), and out of step with the times, this is a more beaten-down Indiana Jones then we're used to seeing, and Ford leans all the way in. An adventure ensues that brings back his sense of derring-do, but it's clear throughout the film that Indiana is preparing to hang up his hat.

So is Ford: Though he is busier than ever, with roles on the shows "Shrinking" and "1923," he has said that this will be the last time he plays his most iconic character. When asked why at the news conference, Ford gestured to himself in disbelief.

"Is it not evident?" he said. "I need to sit down and rest a little bit."

An Australian reporter begged to differ. "I still think you're very hot," she said. "I was stunned to see you take your shirt off in the second scene. And you've still got it!"

Replied Ford with mock-grandeur: "Look, I've been blessed with this body. Thanks for noticing."

With Ford successfully de-aged in the film's prologue, and Lucasfilm willing to use body doubles and CGI to create a young Luke Skywalker on "The Mandalorian," is there any chance we could see that technology used to put a young Indiana Jones in future movies that don't physically star Ford?

"No," replied the producer Kathleen Kennedy.

"You got the answer from the right person," Ford said.

Still, he confessed that it was unusual to watch himself as a young man in the film's prologue. At a time when Ford is contemplating his life's full span, it provided a reminder that he's content exactly where he is.

"I'm very happy with it, but I don't look back and say I wish I was that guy again, because I don't," he said. "I'm real happy with age, I love being older. It was great to be young."

Ford grinned. "I could be dead! But I'm still working. Go figure."

DANIEL COLE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Cannes Film Festival director Thierry Frémaux, left, and Harrison Ford, who received an honorary Palme d'Or.

Greece's elections could further complicate Athens's discussions with the British Museum.

DANIEL LEAL/AGENCE-FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Politics and the Fate of the Parthenon Marbles

By ALEX MARSHALL

LONDON — Since November 2021, Greece's prime minister and the British Museum have been holding back-room talks about the potential return of at least some of the Parthenon Marbles, a collection of antique treasures that once decorated the famed pillared temple in Athens.

The collection, which includes statues of Greek gods and carved friezes, was taken from Greece in the early 1800s by Lord Elgin, a British aristocrat. They have been at the London museum ever since.

The prime minister, Kyriakos Mitsotakis, has met several times with George Osborne, a former chancellor of the Exchequer who is now the chairman of the British Museum. The rapport between Mitsotakis and Osborne has widely been seen as one reason the talks have progressed so far.

But on Sunday Greece will hold an election, and the talks have been postponed until the result of the vote is clear.

Mitsotakis told reporters last week that if he were re-elected he would "pick up again the momentum and build upon the progress that we have made" in the discussions.

If he does not win, how will the future of the marbles be affected?

How is the election shaping up?

At the start of this year, Mitsotakis and his New Democracy party were cruising to re-election, according to Nick Malkoutzis, the editor of the Greek politics website MacroPolis.

But on March 1, a head-on collision between a freight train and a passenger train killed at least 57 people and injured scores of others. After the accident, the deadliest ever on Greece's rail network, tens of thousands of demonstrators took to the streets to protest successive governments' lack of investment in train safety.

After initially blaming the accident on a "tragic human error," Mitsotakis asked the Greek people for forgiveness for the chronic failings.

In the fallout from the tragedy, New Democracy lost several percentage points in opinion polls, Malkoutzis said. The party now seems set to take about 36 percent of the vote on Sunday, probably scuppering its hopes of an outright win, which would have been difficult even before the crash.

Malkoutzis said that a second round of voting would most likely be needed. In that case, under Greek law, the election rules change, and the prime minister would be hopeful of securing a majority. But, Malkoutzis said, "low turnout or shifting voter patterns" could still make a coalition government necessary.

What if a coalition is needed?

If New Democracy does need the help of another party to govern, Malkoutzis said that the most likely partner would be a center-left alliance called Pasok-Kinal.

Nikos Orfanos, a theater director who is a spokesman on culture for Pasok-Kinal, said in a telephone interview that returning the marbles was vital because the artifacts were part of Greece's national identity.

But, he added, "a matter of such national importance, with national aspects, should not become the subject of secret diplomacy." Orfanos said that any deal should be discussed with the Greek Parliament, adding that a prime minister must not simply present "a take it or leave it deal" to lawmakers without them having a say.

What if another party wins?

The main opposition party in Greece is the leftist Syriza party, led by Alexis Tsipras, who was prime minister from 2015 to 2019. Syriza is expected to come second in the election, with polls suggesting it will secure about 29 percent of the vote.

A surprise victory by Syriza could complicate negotiations with the British Museum. The party has long opposed discussions about the marbles, saying that Britain's government should immediately return the collection.

Sia Anagnostopoulou, the party's spokeswoman on culture, said by email in January that the sculptures had to be "returned, reunified and exhibited in their entirety" in Athens. Her party would not accept only a portion of the collection being returned on loan, she added — one of the options under discussion.

When Syriza was last in government, it focused on working with the United Nations to try to pressure Britain into returning the marbles.

What is the British Museum's position?

Pressure is growing on the British Museum to deal with the many contested artifacts in its collection. In recent years, some major Western museums have begun returning high-profile items. In December, German museums started returning a collection of priceless Benin Bronzes to Nigeria.

Some fragments of the Parthenon held in other countries were already heading back to Greece. In March, three 2,500-year-old pieces of the Parthenon that had been in the Vatican's collections were returned to the Acropolis Museum in Athens. And this month, it emerged that the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna was in talks with the Acropolis Museum about a loan agreement involving two more Parthenon fragments.

Nikos Dendias, the Greek foreign minister, said in a news conference that the Austrian talks were of "huge importance" and would help "create a momentum which we could use in our discussions in London" about the British Museum's holdings.

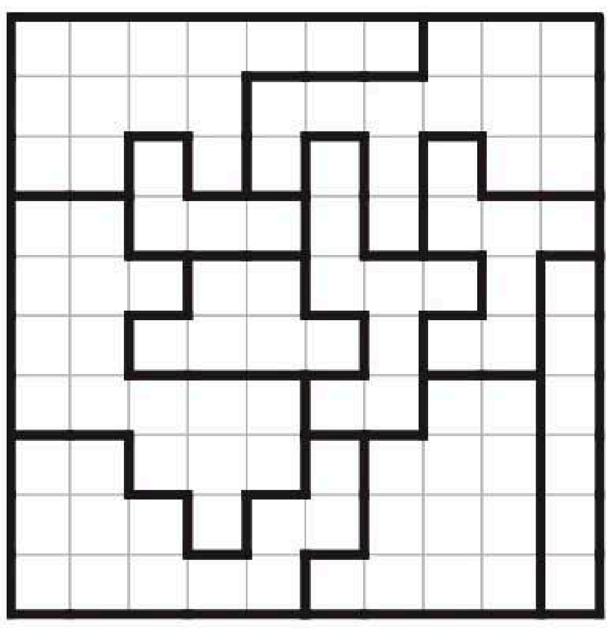
The British Museum says on its website that it is in discussions with Greece over a new "Parthenon partnership" in which items might be shared or lent between the two countries. But its officials regularly point out that the museum cannot return items permanently to Greece, even if it wanted to, because British law bars it from removing items from its collection.

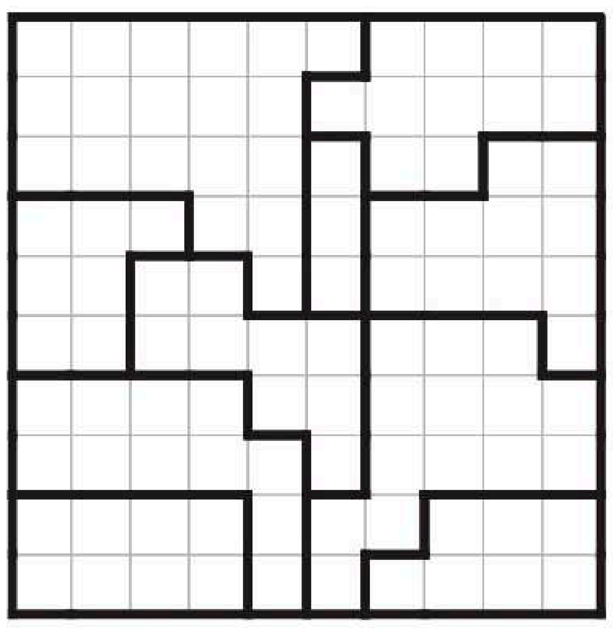
Few British politicians are lining up to change that law. In March, Prime Minister Rishi Sunak told reporters, "The U.K. has cared for the Elgin Marbles for generations." The British Museum's collection was protected by law, he said, adding, "We have no plans to change it."

The Parthenon Marbles have been at the British Museum for two centuries. Greece's prime minister, Kyriakos Mitsotakis, has been in talks with the museum about their future since 2021.

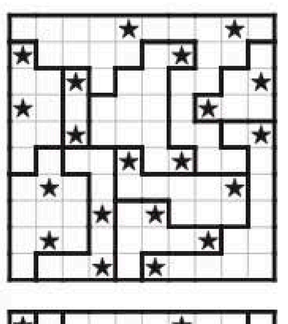
Negotiations have been postponed until the result of the vote is clear.

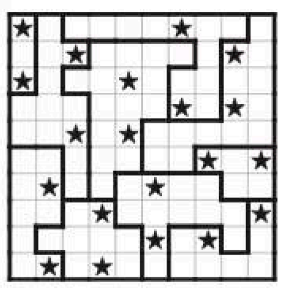
Two Not Touch





ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES





Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

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Wit Twister

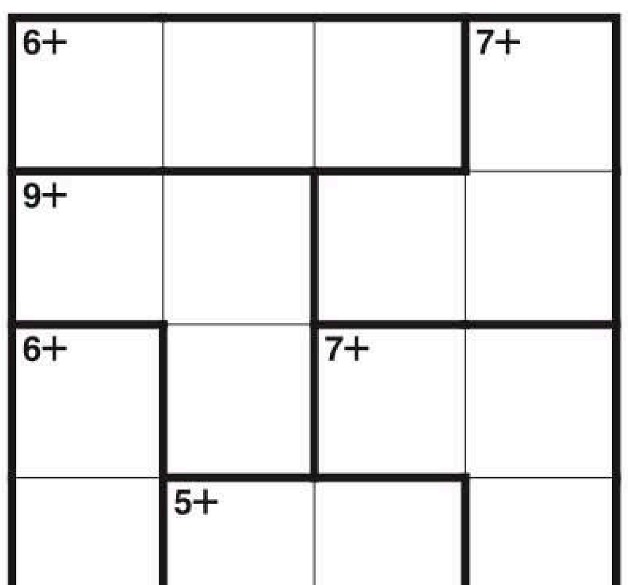
Spelunkers chart remote and risky depths; each crawls
On hands and knees, with little praise or mention.
No wonder that they _ _ _ _ _ initials onto walls —
For why would not a _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ attention?

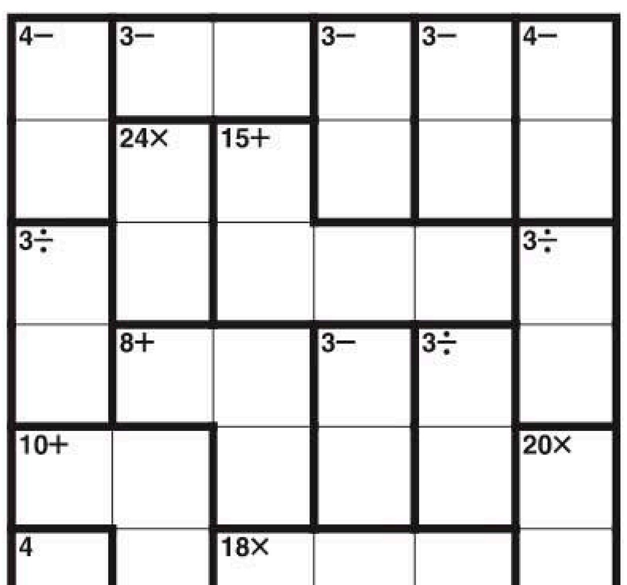
Complete the verse with words that are anagrams of each other. Each underline represents a letter.

PUZZLE BY STUART CLELAND

YESTERDAY'S ANSWER Bear --> beaver

KenKen





ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES

4	1	2	3
1	4	3	2
3	2	1	4
2	3	4	1

4	2	1	5	3	6
2	5	4	6	1	3
6	3	5	2	4	1
3	4	6	1	5	2
1	6	3	4	2	5
5	1	2	3	6	4

Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

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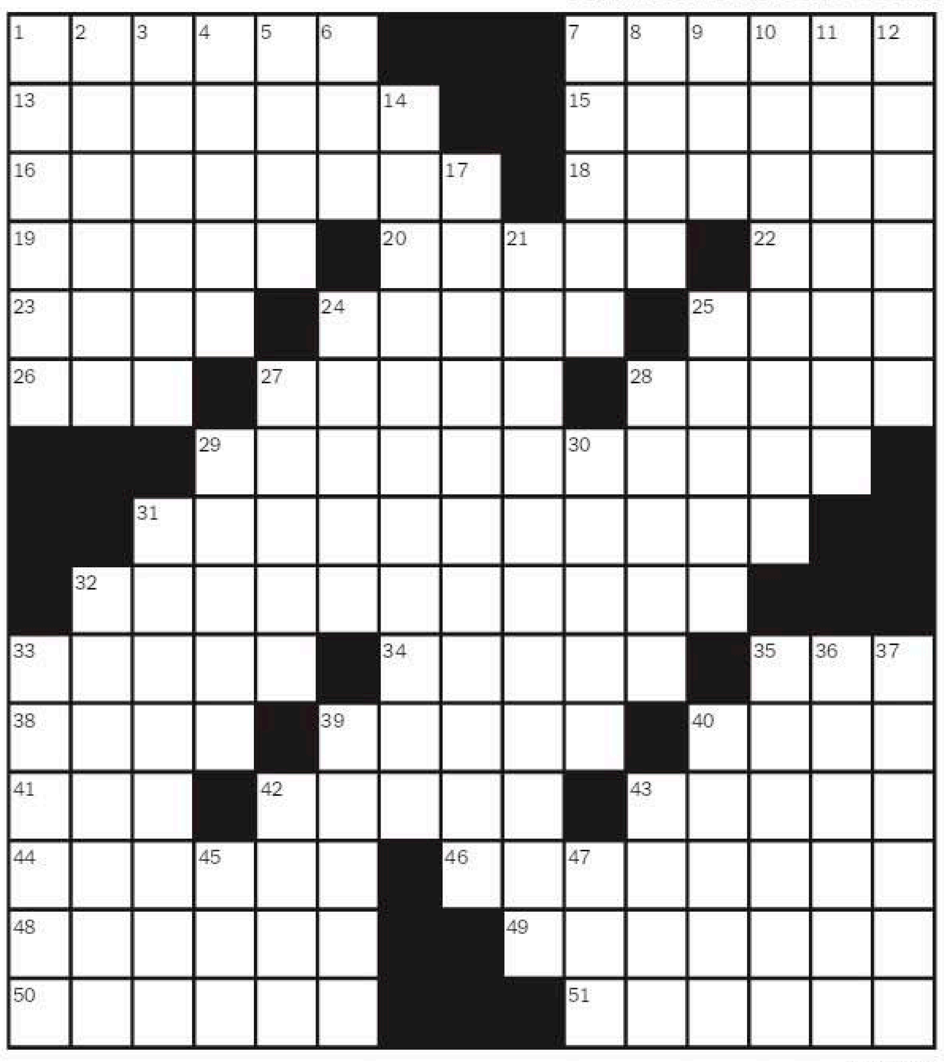
Crossword | Edited by Will Shortz

PUZZLE BY ERICA HSIUNG WOJCIK



5/20/23

ACROSS

1 Creature of the internet
7 "The ___ deeds like poison weeds / Bloom well in prison-air": Oscar Wilde
13 At this late stage
15 It's a drag
16 Muttonchops moisturizer
18 Like the feeling of one's legs after a marathon, maybe
19 Helping of gravy?
20 Silver streaks, e.g.
22 Network behind the Ken Burns docuseries "Jazz"
23 Son of Seth
24 Be a bad winner, say
25 ___ gras torchon (French dish)
26 ___ Peres, suburb of St. Louis
27 Quite a spread
28 Hiding places
29 Gingerly avoid
31 Source of some popular Instagram or Twitter postings
32 Neuropsychological trait in which one might ascribe colors to numbers or tastes to words
33 Like a 2 $1/2$-star review, say
34 Jockey's main competitor?
35 Caboose, e.g.
38 Don't do it, doc!
39 Term of address in an old-timey introduction
40 "Don't get ___!"
41 Get on
42 Blacksmith's need
43 Vermont municipality SE of Montpelier
44 Reply to "Whatcha doin'?"
46 Staffers savvy with syringes
48 Weapon that originated in feudal Japan
49 "Just missed!"
50 Gave a look?
51 Some golfing attire

DOWN

1 Like many shots in pickleball
2 Low tie
3 Landforms seen in South America
4 ____ the Great, founder of the first Persian empire
5 Some operators in Boolean logic
6 It's between one and many
7 Fancy restaurant service
8 Saint in a nursery rhyme
9 Salonga of Broadway
10 Terminus
11 Basketball star with five Olympic gold medals
12 Language class lesson
14 "Alexander's Bridge" was her debut novel (1912)
17 Findings under couch cushions, maybe
21 Places for networking
24 Makeup set?
25 Beasts
27 Noted
28 "Ella and ___" (1956 jazz album)
29 Target of acid washing, often
30 Wine list heading
31 Dorothy, to the Wicked Witch of the West
32 Capricorn's symbol
33 What might precede a million
35 Tech pointer
36 Relaxed
37 Hershey candy company trademark
39 Ovary, for example
40 Soccer coaching great ___ Ancelotti
42 Opposite of thick
43 Chin (up)
45 Sci-fi villain that Anthony Hopkins once said inspired his performance as Hannibal Lecter
47 Column on an R.S.V.P. spreadsheet

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

B	A	B	Y	S	H	A	R	K	■	■	T	H	U	D
G	R	E	A	T	I	D	E	A	■	C	H	O	S	E
A	T	A	N	Y	C	O	S	T	■	M	A	N	E	T
M	I	L	K	■	K	P	H	■	S	O	N	O	M	A
E	E	L	E	D	■	T	I	P	I	N	■	R	B	I
■	■	■	E	A	T	■	P	E	D	■	B	R	A	N
■	P	O	S	T	H	A	S	T	E	■	R	O	S	E
S	U	H	W	E	E	T	■	R	E	P	U	L	S	E
U	L	N	A	■	T	O	D	A	Y	O	N	L	Y	■
S	L	O	P	■	A	L	I	■	E	T	C	■	■	■
H	A	W	■	A	L	L	O	W	■	S	H	R	E	K
I	S	I	T	O	K	■	R	A	P	■	M	A	L	I
B	I	S	O	N	■	D	A	R	E	D	E	V	I	L
A	D	E	L	E	■	E	M	P	T	Y	N	E	S	T
R	E	E	D	■	■	M	A	S	S	E	U	S	E	S

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Family Disputes Sotheby's Provenance in Art Case

Relatives of a Jewish gallery owner who fled Austria say the auction house posted a misleading history of a work during a sale.

"St. Francis of Paola Holding a Rosary, Book, and Staff," by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, thought to have been painted in the 1730s.

By COLIN MOYNIHAN

In 2019, Sotheby's sold a work by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, the master painter, that was left behind in Austria when a Jewish gallery owner fled the Nazis in 1938. Sotheby's says that at the time of the sale it didn't know that history, and so the auction catalog only mentioned that the work came from a "distinguished private collection" and had once been in the possession of the Galerie Wolfgang Böhler in Bensheim, Germany.

But, according to court papers filed on Friday, the painting had actually passed through the hands of Julius Böhler, a separate and unrelated art dealer in Munich whom American authorities described in 1946 as someone who had been "implicated in art looting activities."

Now three heirs of the Jewish gallery owner, Otto Fröhlich, are saying in the court papers that Sotheby's "misled the public" by attributing the painting to the wrong gallery. This had the effect, the heirs said, of making a sale easier and "perpetuating the very cycle of injustice and exploitation that began in 1938 and that the international and national restitution laws and policies were designed to prevent."

Sotheby's, in response, attributed the provenance attribution in the 2019 catalog to "human error." The auction house said in a statement that it conducted new research after first hearing from the heirs and learned of an owner before Fröhlich who had been subjected to Nazi persecution and whose heirs might have grounds for a claim.

"While Sotheby's remains committed to reaching a just and amicable solution in the restitution of this work to its rightful heirs, additional research and evidence is needed to ascertain who the correct claimant should be in this instance, with current evidence supporting a possible claim by the heirs of Adele Fischel," the statement said.

Fröhlich bought the Tiepolo in 1938 from Fischel, who is described as his cousin in

A petition asks for the disclosure of the identity of the seller and buyer so that a restitution claim can begin.

the court papers. Records maintained by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum show that a woman from Vienna with that name was deported from Austria and later killed at the Theresienstadt camp. A representative for the Fröhlich heirs said Fischel's sale to her cousin had been a "good faith," mutually beneficial transaction between family members.

In the petition filed in State Supreme Court in Manhattan, the Fröhlich heirs did not say the Tiepolo had been looted, but they argued that the gallery owner would not have been forced to leave it behind but for the fact of Nazi persecution. Their petition asked the court to order Sotheby's to disclose the identity of the seller and buyer of the painting so they can begin a restitution claim.

The painting, "St. Francis of Paola Holding a Rosary, Book, and Staff," by Tiepolo, was turned over to another gallery when Fröhlich fled Vienna for Britain, according to his heirs. It depicts the saint as a cowled, bearded figure, and the 2019 Sotheby's catalog estimated its price as $70,000 to $100,000.

The Sotheby's listing also cited a catalog raisonné of Tiepolo's works published in 1962 that, the heirs' petition says, correctly identified Julius Böhler in Munich as the person who once handled the painting, not Wolfgang Böhler who was listed in the Sotheby's provenance.

In a telephone interview, Wolfgang Böhler's son, Florian, said that his father never sold or possessed the Tiepolo painting and that his father's gallery was unrelated to other art businesses with the name Böhler, including the one in Munich.

Julius Böhler's name appears several times in a 1946 report by the Art Looting Investigation Unit, a group created by the U.S. government to look into World War II-era plundering and confiscation of art in Europe. In addition to listing Julius Böhler as someone implicated in art looting, it referred to him as "a strong Nazi."

Fröhlich moved to London in 1938, the same year that Nazis required Jews in Germany and Austria to register property and assets. Near the end of 1938, the court papers say, Fröhlich transferred the Tiepolo painting for safekeeping to the Galerie Sanct Lucas in Vienna.

Documents compiled by the Mondex Corporation, which is working with the Fröhlich heirs to pursue a restitution, seek to track the painting's history. One shows that Robert Herzig, the owner of the Galerie Sanct Lucas, obtained official permission in 1941 to sell the Tiepolo and other works to cover private debt he said Fröhlich owed his business.

But the petition asserts that the painting was sold far below the market value and that, even if there had been outstanding debts, the Tiepolo only changed ownership as part of a "forced sale." Absent Nazi persecution, Fröhlich's heirs contend, he would not have been forced to close his gallery or leave Austria and could have repaid any debts without necessarily selling the Tiepolo painting.

Documents compiled by the Fröhlich heirs do not contain any more details about Julius Böhler's role in handling the Tiepolo. But they show that Fröhlich tried after the war to get back some artwork, including that painting.

The Fröhlich heirs said they only became aware of the Tiepolo's whereabouts after it was sold in 2019, according to their petition that seeks the identities of the parties involved in that sale. Auction houses typically do not reveal the names of consignors or buyers, but the heirs contend there is a basis to compel Sotheby's to do so because that information is vital to future legal efforts to recover the painting.

Salman Rushdie Appears At PEN Gala

REBECCA SMEYNE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

From left, Alec Baldwin, John Alexander, Lorne Michaels and John Mulaney attending the PEN America Literary Gala at the American Museum of Natural History.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

be back — as opposed to not being back, which was also an option. I'm pretty glad the dice rolled this way."

His remarks, just a few minutes long, in accepting an award for courage may have been uncharacteristically terse. But Rushdie, who lost sight in one eye because of the attack, was his voluble self during the cocktail hour, for which he had slipped in through a side door before taking his place for a red-carpet photo op.

Flashbulbs popped. And as the crowd began to notice him, friends headed over for handshakes and hugs.

"I just thought if there's a right thing to choose as a re-entry, it's this," he said in an interview. "It's being part of the world of books, the fight against censorship and for human rights."

The evening marked a triumphant return for a man who had not let the lingering threat from the Iranian government's 1989 fatwa get in the way of being an exuberant fixture on the social scene of New York. But if the attack last year came as a shocking blast from the past, the gala underscored the high stakes of the current moment, where freedom of expression is under siege on many fronts, across the political spectrum, not just abroad but at home.

Over the past two years, PEN America has staked out a leading role in the fight against the spread of "educational gag orders," as the organization calls laws restricting teaching on race, gender and other topics, as well as against book bans. This week, the group joined with Penguin Random House to file a lawsuit against a school district in Escambia County, Fla., arguing that its restrictions on books violate the Constitution.

But PEN America has also steered its way through increasingly pitched battles over the value of free speech itself. "Free speech" has become a rallying cry for many conservatives, including those imposing book bans. At the same time, some progressives, including younger ones, dismiss "free speech" as a tool of the powerful and support calls to "deplatform" speakers and works they find offensive.

"We see free speech threatened on all sides, from the left and the right," Suzanne

'I just thought if there's a right thing to choose as a re-entry, it's this.'
SALMAN RUSHDIE

Nossel, who has been PEN America's chief executive since 2013, said in an interview before the gala. "People question it, they don't believe in it, they doubt it. But this is a really important time to shore it up as a cultural and constitutional value. That's part of what the gala does."

The gala itself has been affected by the complexities of the current moment. Ted Sarandos, the co-chief executive of Netflix, who last year invoked freedom of expression in defending the polarizing comedy specials of Dave Chappelle and Ricky Gervais on the streaming service, had been set to receive an award recognizing his commitment to literary adaptations. But he withdrew last week, citing the continuing Hollywood writers' strike.

And earlier this week, the journalist Masha Gessen resigned as vice president of PEN America's board after a dispute over a panel at the recent PEN World Voices Festival featuring exiled Russian writers. The panel was canceled following a boycott threat from Ukrainian writers.

In her opening remarks, Nossel addressed the controversy head-on.

"As a free speech organization, we must go to the utmost lengths to avoid sidelining speech or being seen to do so," she said. "We should have found a better approach."

During the dinner under the museum's 94-foot blue whale, the mood was festive but pointed.

The comedian Colin Jost, a head writer on "Saturday Night Live" and the co-anchor of its Weekend Update segment, got things started with a joke acknowledging the surprise guest. "Nothing puts you at ease at an event like seeing Salman Rushdie," he said to titters.

Not to worry, he said, there were snipers in the balcony. "But that's just in case a drag queen tries to read a child a story."

Later, there was an award to Lorne Michaels, the creator and longtime executive producer of "Saturday Night Live." PEN America recognized him for what it called "four decades of biting satire that has captured the tenor of the moment, probing the norms, restrictions and absurdities of our institutions and the powerful."

Satire — and the right of comedians to offend — has become an increasingly charged issue in the United States. But the moral center of the evening was the struggle against government repression.

The annual Freedom to Write award went to Narges Mohammadi, an Iranian writer and human rights advocate who has been in and out of prison over the past decade. She is currently in Evin Prison in Tehran on charges of "spreading propaganda" and has been subjected to "prolonged solitary confinement and intense psychological torture," according to PEN America.

Mohammadi's husband, the journalist and activist Taghi Rahmani, who lives in Paris and has also been jailed in Iran, accepted the award on her behalf. (Of the 52 jailed writers who have received the award, PEN said, 46 were subsequently released in part because of the group's efforts to highlight their cases.)

In a written message, which was read from the stage, Mohammadi called for an end to Iran's "misogynist, oppressive and theocratic" regime. And she spoke of a fellow writer, Baktash Abtin, who died in prison of Covid last January, as well as of two men who had been charged with insulting the Prophet Muhammad and hanged.

"Don't be mistaken," Mohammadi said in the statement. "They had not written a book. They had not published an article. They had only exchanged a few messages on a Telegram chat room."

The issue of the harms of free expression — and how to balance them against the right to speak — has been a fraught issue within PEN America itself. Before its 2015 gala, six members withdrew as literary hosts in protest of a Freedom of Expression Courage Award to the French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo, on the grounds that the award honored a magazine that published racist and Islamophobic cartoons.

At the time, Rushdie offered tart words for his fellow writers, saying, "I hope nobody ever comes after them." This year, Rushdie received the same award.

He was introduced on Thursday by the playwright and novelist Ayad Akhtar, PEN America's president, who spoke of growing up in a conservative Muslim community in Milwaukee. As a devout young man, Akhtar said, he "knew," even without reading it, that Rushdie's novel "The Satanic Verses," which had prompted the fatwa, was a dangerous and immoral book.

But after reading it, Akhtar (who writes extensively about the experience in his novel "Homeland Elegies") wept. To say that reading "The Satanic Verses" transformed him, he said, was an understatement.

The attack on Rushdie, Akhtar said, had been a "profound and galvanizing moment for us at PEN" and decisively answered what for him had been a lingering, unresolved question.

"Is the harm caused by offensive speech a claim on us with equal weight as the freedom to speak, the freedom to imagine?" he said. "The answer is: Of course not. Of course not."

After a short tribute video, the room went dark. And then Rushdie appeared.

It was an emotional moment. But it was not, Rushdie emphasized, only about him.

Rushdie, a former PEN America president, praised the group's efforts on behalf of teachers, libraries and authors. And he hailed those who had rushed to restrain his attacker at the Chautauqua Institution last August and saved his life.

"I was the target that day, but they were the heroes," Rushdie said. "The courage that day was all theirs."

"Terrorism must not terrorize us," he continued. "Violence must not deter us. As the old Marxists used to say, *La lutte continue. La lutta continua.* The struggle goes on."

THEATER DIRECTORY
Your daily guide to theater

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JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Resurrecting Rap Media History

A new podcast from the brothers Eric and Jeff Rosenthal explores what made hip-hop blogs matter and why they faded away.

By REGGIE UGWU

For music fans who came of age after Napster but before Spotify — roughly the first decade of the 2000s — the internet could seem like a kind of enchanted forest. Each day delivered a new bounty for the music-hungry, copyright-resistant and broadband-equipped.

The fruits of this ecosystem — new or unreleased songs of generally hazy provenance — could be downloaded directly from file-sharing platforms like Napster or on any number of fan-led message boards. But the era reached its peak with the advent of the MP3 blog.

"The Blog Era," a new podcast from the brothers Eric and Jeff Rosenthal, is a painstaking resurrection of the characters and events that made this humble format — vertical-scrolling logs of images, text and download links — such a seismic force in hip-hop. At its height, which the podcast situates between 2007 and 2012, a mostly decentralized network of quasi-anonymous publications remade both the mainstream music press and major record labels in its own image, elevating artists like Drake, Kid Cudi and Wiz Khalifa whose sound veered from the testosterone-fueled club music on the radio.

The Rosenthals, longtime internet personalities best known for their hip-hop sketch comedy act ItsTheReal, wrote and reported the series over the three years of the pandemic. (It is published by Pharrell's media company Othertone.) Dozens of bloggers and artists who became stars of the scene — earning millions of fans even as many remained under- or unemployed — tell their stories, which the brothers stitch together in 10 broadly thematic episodes (six have been published).

The founder of Nah Right — the front page of the rap internet for much of the late 2000s — appears extensively in the series, joined by the proprietors of Chicago's Fake Shore Drive, the Nashville-based The Smoking Section, the mixtape-centric 2DopeBoyz and the Hot 97-backed MissInfo.TV, among others. In all, the Rosenthals conducted more than 150 interviews spanning more than 500 hours of raw tape.

In a recent video interview, Jeff, 38, and Eric, 42, discussed corralling their subjects, memorializing digital culture and what caused the blog era's demise. These are edited excerpts from the conversation.

What was the initial idea for the show?

JEFF ROSENTHAL We'd been doing this weekly interview podcast, "A Waste of Time," for five years, but when the pandemic happened we stopped pretty much immediately. It didn't really make sense to have people coming over to our apartment to record. So I started thinking of doing something narrative and pretty immediately we came up with the idea of "The Blog Era."

ERIC ROSENTHAL We knew if we were going to spend any amount of time on something, it had to be something that we were intimately involved in and really cared about. And when we thought about the blogs — I mean, look, when there is no proof of NahRight.com ever having existed, no page on Wikipedia, that is a scary thought. We think all of these places deserve monuments, so we wanted to make sure they were remembered in the right way.

It was such a sprawling scene. How did you go about shaping it into a story?

ERIC When we first started, Jeff was like, "OK, the first thing we need is a gigantic bulletin board." So, we went to Staples and got this 6-foot by 4-foot bulletin board and put all these note cards on there like you would see on "Saturday Night Live." It was really important to us that it be a compelling narrative. We always wanted it to feel like the equivalent of prestige television, like an HBO Sunday night show.

CHAD BATKA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Top, Jeff Rosenthal, left, and his brother, Eric, wrote and reported the podcast over the three years of the pandemic. Rap blogs like Nah Right and Fake Shore Drive helped elevate artists like Drake, above, into the mainstream.

Were there interviews that were particularly hard to get?

ERIC Well, the pandemic was both a gift and a curse. We weren't the only ones sitting at home, so getting a Big K.R.I.T. or a Wiz Khalifa or a Curren$y, or a Karen Civil on the phone was a little bit easier.

JEFF The most crucial person that we had to speak to though was Eskay [an information technology worker in Yonkers, N.Y., when he founded Nah Right in 2005], who has never really done an in-depth interview.

ERIC He's also somebody who has been celebrated in the blog days and then forgotten about and feels burned by the business and the music industry, which we get into on the podcast.

JEFF But you can't tell the story of the blogs without him. To us, Nah Right was always the sun to this universe.

If the blog era ended in 2012, what killed it?

JEFF It's like a death by a thousand cuts. There is no one answer. But one of the things that was fascinating to discover in the process of researching this was just how much pressure the big music companies were putting on these sites behind the scenes. And there were some self-inflicted wounds, as well.

ERIC With blogs, like any passion project or cool nightclub, once it becomes a certain size, you go from subverting the gatekeepers to becoming the gatekeepers. You were the cool place that put on Wiz Khalifa and Curren$y and J. Cole and all these people. But what happens when Odd Future, these skateboard kids from L.A., decide that you're not cool anymore, that you're the enemy? When they start saying, *I don't need you to open my email and put my music up; I'm going to go over to Tumblr and curate my own stuff*. That's a big deal.

Do you see any equivalents or descendants of blogs today?

ERIC If the mixtape era preceded blogs, and the SoundCloud era happened afterward, we're now clearly living in the streaming era. A place like RapCaviar on Spotify is probably the biggest gatekeeper of them all right now. You could say that YouTube is right up there as well, but as far as people of influence who decide what to listen to, it's probably Carl Chery and his team at RapCaviar.

And what about podcasts?

JEFF Podcasts are so much longer and more boring. [Laughs]

ERIC It is true that someone with a very particular, unique voice was at a keyboard 15 years ago, and now that same kind of person is behind a microphone.

Do you have a preference?

JEFF There was an innocence and an authenticity to the internet 15 years ago. And those years of the Obama era just seem so nice in retrospect. And I was younger. But we eat better these days.

ERIC We do eat better now. That's true.

JON PARELES | ALBUM REVIEW

The Sound of Silence? No, It's a Ticking Clock.

At 81, an acclaimed singer-songwriter ruminates on mortality, faith and meaning on an album that could be a farewell.

WHAT DO SONGWRITERS do when they feel death approaching? As time runs out, some choose to spend it by determinedly creating music to outlive them.

"Seven Psalms" sounds like a last testament from the 81-year-old Paul Simon. It's an album akin to David Bowie's "Blackstar" and Leonard Cohen's "You Want It Darker," which those songwriters made as mortality loomed; they each died days after the albums were released.

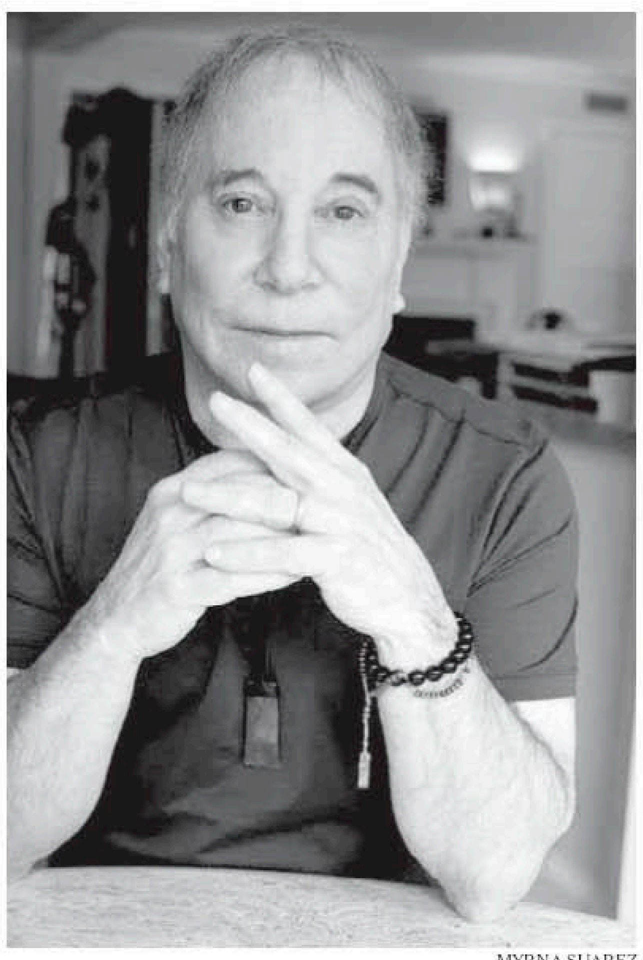
Their generation of singer-songwriters has dedicated itself to chronicling their entire lives, biographically and metaphorically, from youth through last words. "Blackstar" was turbulent and exploratory; "You Want It Darker" was stoically bleak. "Seven Psalms" stays true to Simon's own instincts: observant, elliptical, perpetually questioning and quietly encompassing.

The album is constructed as a nearly unbroken 33-minute suite, nominally divided into seven songs that circle back to recurring refrains. It has places of lingering contemplation and it has sudden, startling changes; its informality is exactingly planned.

Simon begins the album in his most casual tone. Over calmly precise and rhythmically flexible guitar picking, he sings, "I've been thinking about the great migration."

Almost immediately, it becomes clear that the migration is from life to death, a transition the singer is preparing to make himself. He's thinking about time, love, culture, family, music, eternity and God, striving to balance skepticism and something like faith. "I have my reasons to doubt/A white light eases the pain," Simon sings in "Your Forgiveness." "Two billion heartbeats and out/Or does it all begin again?"

Simon's songwriting has never been particularly religious. Over the years, he has drawn on gospel music for songs like "Bridge Over Troubled Water" and "Loves Me Like a Rock," which bring religious imagery to secular relationships, and his 2011 album, "So Beautiful or So What," had touches of Christian imagery — but also imagined "The Afterlife" as one last bureaucracy, where arrivals have to "Fill out a form first/And then you wait in a line."



MYRNA SUAREZ

Paul Simon's new album is constructed as a nearly unbroken 33-minute suite.

Paul Simon
CRITIC'S PICK
'Seven Psalms'
(Owl Records/Legacy Recordings)

"Seven Psalms" is more humble and awestruck. Its refrains return to, and work variations on, the album's opening song, "The Lord." As in the psalms of the Bible — which, as Simon notes in "Sacred Harp," were songs — Simon portrays the Lord in sweeping ways: wondrous and terrifying, both protector and destroyer, sometimes benign and sometimes wrathful. The Lord, Simon sings, is "a meal for the poorest, a welcome door to the stranger." Then he turns to naming 21st-century perils: "The Covid virus is the Lord/The Lord is the ocean rising."

Much of the music sounds like solitary ruminations: Simon communing with his guitar, which has been the subtly virtuosic underpinning of most of his lifetime of songs. As his fingers sketch patterns, he latches onto melody phrases and then lets them go, teasing at pop structures but soon dissolving them. And around him, at any moment, sounds can float out of the background: additional supportive guitars, the eerie microtonal bell tones of Harry Partch's cloud-chamber bowls, the jaunty huffing of a bass harmonica and, in the album's final moments, the voice of his wife, Edie Brickell.

In the course of the album, Simon sings about personal distress and societal tensions. In "Love Is Like a Braid," a song of gratitude and vulnerability, he sings, "I lived a life of pleasant sorrows until the real deal came/Broke me like a twig in a winter gale." In "Trail of Volcanoes," he juxtaposes youthful exploits with adult realities: "The pity is the damage that's done/Leaves so little for amends"

Meanwhile, Simon's tartly aphoristic side reappears in "My Professional Opinion," a swipe at social media context collapse set to a country-blues shuffle. "All rise to the occasion/Or all sink into despair," he sings. "In my professional opinion/We're better off not going there."

He ends the album — possibly his last — with a song called "Wait." He protests, "My hand's steady/My mind is still clear." Brickell's voice arrives to tell him, "Life is a meteor" and "Heaven is beautiful/It's almost like home." At the end, he harmonizes with her on one word, extended into five musical syllables: "Amen." It sounds like he's accepting the inevitable.

Buoyantly Upending A Tale Onstage

PHOTOGRAPHS BY RYAN PFLUGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

cultural institutions like the Brooklyn Academy of Music and at underground freak spectaculars.

"Jibz is able to address all kinds of issues — whether it's body dysmorphia or childhood trauma or climate change — with the most hysterical absurdity and in ways that you would never expect," said Ed Patuto, director of audience engagement at the Broad in Los Angeles, which programmed and commissioned her work. "She's a great performer, in that you never see her rehearsals — it looks completely spontaneous."

"Weirdo Night," her popular, long-running monthly variety show in Los Angeles, which she summed up as a "live 'Muppet Show' meets demented queer 'Star Search,'" has become a mecca for the surreal. "The 'Weirdo Night' community is freak church and Dynasty Handbag is the weirdo priest," said Sarah Sherman, the breakout "Saturday Night Live" star, who has performed there. (The series was the subject of a well-received 2021 Sundance documentary.)

"Titanic Depression," which was commissioned by the Brooklyn cultural venue Pioneer Works in 2017 and will premiere there on Saturday and Sunday, is Cameron's most ambitious and multidisciplinary project yet; it involves animation, video, soundscapes, singing, history and dance. It arrives on the heels of her Guggenheim fellowship, a lot for an artist who refers to her crew as "dirtbag queers."

As her vision for "Titanic" grew, "it just kept getting more money and more attention," Cameron said, with an avant-gardist's note of surprise. "And then I kept feeling like it had to be bigger and bigger."

"What keeps it fresh for me is knowing that I can just make myself something to do, if I want to do it," she added, on a break from rehearsals near her home in Los Angeles last week, in a studio where she also takes punk aerobics. "I definitely trust that it is what it wants to be."

Her instincts are being recognized all over: She will have visual art in "Made in L.A.," the Hammer Museum's biennial this fall; a comedy album, on the artist Seth Bogart's Wacky Wacko label, is also forthcoming.

But even among performance artists — not exactly a conformist bunch — Cameron's alchemy of comedy, art, music, theater and fashion stands out for actually delivering on its lunacy.

"Jibz is a force of nature," said Jack Black, the actor and musician, adding that he and his wife, Tanya Haden, "were completely blown away" when they first saw Dynasty Handbag. "We were laughing uncontrollably," he wrote in an email. "It felt like a hallucinogenic experience."

With a sharp jawline, an askew wig and features that contort into a bouquet of disdain, Cameron plays Dynasty as an alternate-universe star, whose aesthetic is "Pee-wee's Playhouse" crossed with a minor '80s Aaron Spelling crime drama (lately she's been partial to "Hart to Hart"), "but covered in goo, and a lesbian," she said.

One of those inspirations, Paul Reubens — Pee-wee Herman himself — was impressed by her character work. "To a certain degree, she seems kind of undefinable," he said. "You have to see it; you can't explain it very well. And that in itself seems like an incredible thing to have going for yourself."

Top, Jibz Cameron, as Dynasty Handbag, rehearsing "Titanic Depression," a new multimedia event. Above, Cameron has been called "a force of nature" and "a weirdo priest."

The show, originally developed with the artist and technologist Sue-C, and presented as part of the New York Live Arts festival Planet Justice, is performed with a video backdrop; our heroine is live onstage, and everyone else is animated, mostly from Cameron's own drawings, and sometimes with her face.

At a recent rehearsal in Brooklyn, Cameron and a team of her collaborators — including her co-writer Amanda Verwey, and the visual director, Mariah Garnett, who is Cameron's romantic partner — were working through a scene. À la Rose and Jack, Dynasty trails the octopus through Gilded-Age staterooms — generated partly by Dall-E, the image A.I., because, Cameron explained, that makes them visibly off-kilter, like Dynasty herself. In the bowels of the ship, they find a throbbing dance party. (Cue techno beats, not fiddle.) Cameron choreographed a wiggly duet with her cephalopod lover.

'I feel like what I want to evoke with this is making something out of nothing — this tiny hope, survivability.'

JIBZ CAMERON ON 'TITANIC DEPRESSION'

A lot of the hourlong show is this loopy, until it gets to what David Everitt Howe, the Pioneer Works curator who commissioned the project, called "the bonkers death sequence." A literal meditation, it underscores how consumerist greed led to the tragedy then, and to the vast trouble we're in now.

"It was such a tonal shift," he said. "It's dark. I remember I laughed uncomfortably, but I think it's powerful, too. It makes the silliness stronger."

Jibra'ila Cameron, known as Jibz since childhood, grew up scrappy and poor in Northern California, with glimpses of creative freedom. A performing arts summer camp run by Wavy Gravy, the hippie clown and a friend of her parents, "totally saved my life as a kid," she said.

Her family life was volatile, though, and she left home at 15 or so, bumming around the Bay Area. Though she hadn't graduated from high school, she was accepted at the San Francisco Art Institute on the strength of some Edward Gorey-style comics she drew. There, she was introduced to performance art and began making videos and joined bands. "I would just kind of freak out onstage, play the keyboard," she said. (One of the groups was an all-female post-punk act called Dynasty; when it split up, she kept the name, tacking on Handbag — "I always thought the word handbag was really funny.")

Later, hoping to become an actor, she studied at a theater conservatory. She had already embodied Dynasty Handbag, who debuted at Ladyfest in San Francisco in 2002, and her look remains remarkably the same: a misguided take on femininity, a studied failure of aesthetics. "She's wearing tights, but they're underneath a bathing suit," Everitt Howe noted. "It's all layered wrong."

Her quixotic clarity has influenced a younger generation of artists, like Sherman. "Jibz gave me the best piece of advice ever — after seeing me perform with all my props and costumes and gadgets and gizmos, she said: 'You don't need to WORK so hard, you're funny! You're ENOUGH!'" Sherman wrote. "I really took that to heart."

Cameron is not related to the "Titanic" director James Cameron, but he's in the show, alongside industrialists like Benjamin Guggenheim, who "made his money in the mining and smelting businesses," Dynasty Handbag says, punctuating her monologue about him with fart and bomb sounds. The disembodied voice of Guggenheim, who actually died aboard the Titanic, responds: "How dare you, I gave you a Guggenheim in 2022 and you wouldn't be making this ridiculous show without me!"

Cameron was still working out the ending for "Titanic Depression" last week, conjuring a moment out of a discarded plastic straw, a Lou Reed song and a gown made of garbage.

"I feel like what I want to evoke with this is making something out of nothing — this tiny hope, survivability," she told her crew. "People make music no matter where they are, what socioeconomic class. I get to come out in my showstopper outfit — that's the showbiz part I really like. And then it gets weird."

MAYA PHILLIPS | THEATER REVIEW

A Group of Broken Souls Longs for a Repair Shop

Spiritualism has a satirical bite in a new play that's centered on trauma survivors.

DANIEL RADER

From left, Robyn Peterson, Kerry Bishé, Maddie Corman, Jess Gabor (partially obscured), Natalie Woolams-Torres and Carl Hendrick Louis in "The Fears."

The Fears
Through July 9 at the Signature Theater, Manhattan; thefearsplay.com. Running time: 1 hour 35 minutes.

"THIS IS THE WEATHER . . . and we're just in it," says Maia, the facilitator of a Buddhist trauma group at the center of Emma Sheanshang's new play, "The Fears." She's talking about the mood in the room — a small, underwhelming one with mismatched office chairs set around a low wooden table — where she and six others regularly meet to talk through storms of rage, sorrow and panic. Or at least try to: interpersonal conflicts, clashing neuroses and a falling domino effect of triggers cause more breakdowns than breakthroughs, until even the group's philosophical foundation starts to fall apart.

From the first scene of this intriguing but lacking play, presented by the filmmaker Steven Soderbergh at the Pershing Square Signature Center, we get a clear window into the characters' personalities. Dan Algrant's direction is precise and telling, particularly in the entrances. Thea (Kerry Bishé), the newbie, drifts in skeptically. Rosa (Natalie Woolams-Torres), a stickler for rules, bustles in authoritatively. Fiz (Mehran Khaghani, comical even as a gay stereotype) bursts in with a declarative flourish, while the measured Suzanne (Robyn Peterson), always at odds with Fiz, strolls by demurely. Maia (Maddie Corman), overdressed in multiple layers, flutters in like a light breeze, and Mark (a stiff Carl Hendrick Louis) arrives late, flustered and eager. Katie (a painfully fragile Jess Gabor), a young goth, rushes in last, and withdraws into herself.

Each person's trauma is either explicitly spelled out, or hinted at through their individual triggers, which help explain, for example, why Fiz's sister is a touchy subject, or why Thea has an encyclopedic knowledge of every traumatic event the world has endured.

Sheanshang's depiction of spiritualism has a satirical bite, with Maia's performative shows of empathy — purrs and "mms" of affirmation — and the group members' rigorous policing of one another's responses, which is more about control than about support. But sometimes it seems as if "The Fears" is targeting Buddhism rather than the derivative school of thought — developed by a revered yet unseen male figure — practiced by the group. And the use of the characters' quirks as punch lines verges on cruel (especially because several were victims of childhood sexual abuse) and undercuts the show's emotional resonance.

And so much of the story is about these characters trying to build a safe space within the room, within their practice, in order to find comfort in themselves. But the world keeps barging in (thanks to Jane Shaw's stunning sound design): construction noise and shouting strangers seep in from outside the window, and there's the sound of people chatting elsewhere in the Buddhist center.

"The Fears" opts for a pat ending, and never makes a clear judgment on whether these broken souls can save one another or whether they are ultimately on their own. The questions at the center of its conceit remain unanswered: Are we all doomed to lives in which we barely manage our fears but instead let them rule us? Or is fear what draws out the most precious parts of ourselves?

Travel

FOOTSTEPS

‘Greenwich Village’ on the Prairie

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MADELINE CASS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The writer Mari Sandoz fled the Nebraska Sandhills and found a creative life in Lincoln.

By CARSON VAUGHAN

Were I to write a Mari Sandoz biopic, I'd start with a shadow racing across her desk. I'd start at 3:30 p.m. on Wednesday, Jan. 16, 1935. I'd start with a 39-year-old hayseed — thin as a fence post and prickly as barbed wire — assaulting her typewriter on the ninth floor of the Nebraska State Capitol as a local bank teller plunges 135 feet to his death on the stone transept below. Perhaps I'd cut to the fingernail marks he left on the observation deck five floors above, or the note he left behind. I'd then creep slowly back up to Sandoz, red hair in a French bun, hands on her hips, standing quietly — even knowingly — at the window while her coworkers at the historical society buzz around her.

Roll credits.

Born and raised in the remote Nebraska Sandhills, roughly 400 miles west of Lincoln, the writer Mari Sandoz plowed her way into the literary canon of the Great Plains — just months after the teller's leap — when she finally published “Old Jules,” the biography of her father, a Swiss homesteader. “On putting down this book,” wrote The New York Times Book Review in 1935, “one feels that one has read the history of all pioneering.” Before her death from bone cancer in 1966, she would publish 18 more, fiction and nonfiction alike, enshrining her status — alongside Walter Prescott Webb, Bernard DeVoto, Wallace Stegner and others — as one of the most cleareyed chroniclers of the American frontier.

I've long felt a certain kinship with Sandoz. I, too, fled the Sandhills. I, too, graduated from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. I, too, began my writing career in the city. And I, too, sometimes chafe at my New York editors. “Damn it, you and I know the East has long bled the west white, is still doing it, and I'm to distort facts to please a book public,” she once wrote to a friend. “Why, I'd rather write my own way and dig ditches for my soup and hard tack than write lies for a yacht and sables. Row boat and rabbit's more my style anyway.”

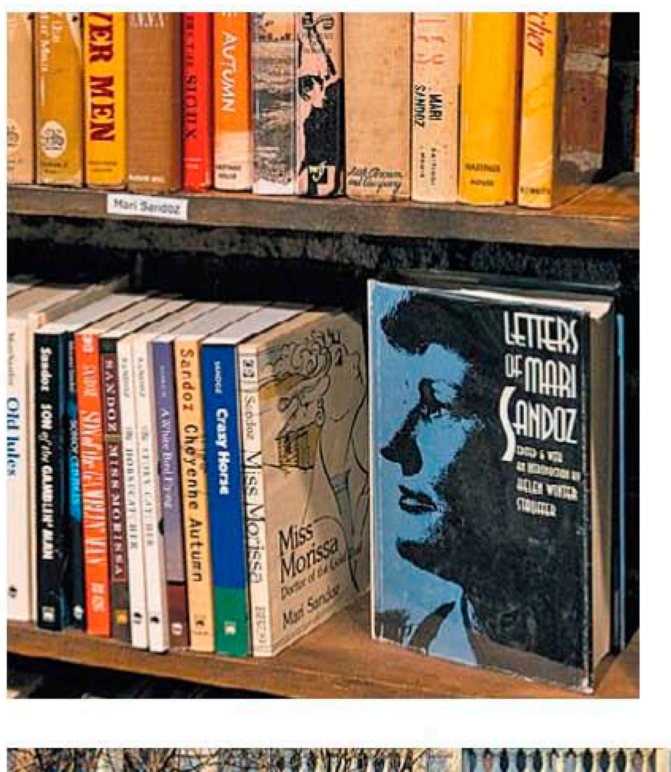
Sandoz would eventually leave Lincoln, first for Denver and then for New York, but she spent more years in Nebraska's capital city than anywhere else. And though she criticized Lincoln throughout her career — calling it “the last word in decadent middle-class towns” and “particularly unkind” to writers — she would eventually soften on the city. Sort of. In a short essay for The Lincoln Star, the former morning newspaper, in 1959, she wrote, “I remember Lincoln as our Greenwich Village,” recalling long hours in cheap coffee shops and the hungry underclass of would-be artists and writers with whom she often commiserated: the poet Weldon Kees, the philosopher Loren Eiseley and the short-story writer Dorothy Thomas, among others.

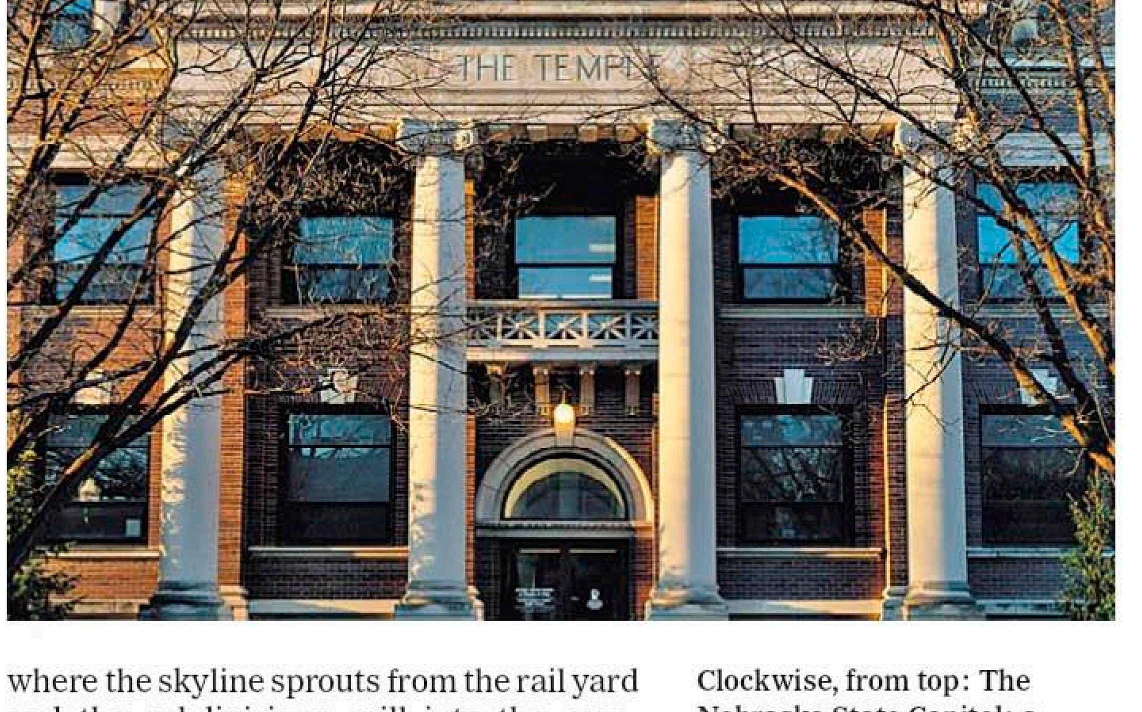
So here I am, home again, half drunk and squinting beneath the Capitol, hoping to glean something more about Sandoz and the city she so loved to hate, or perhaps so hated to love. I've returned to see this sprawling city of roughly 300,000 people — where the skyline sprouts from the rail yard and the subdivisions spill into the cornfields; where the streets are treed, but the wetlands are paved; where the U.N.L. campus hums in the heart of the city and the Capitol beckons from miles away — through the eyes of its most vocal and most ambivalent critic.

Concealing a bottle of cheap rosé, my wife and I crane our necks. We stare. Nebraskans often call the Capitol tower the “Penis of the Plains,” and truthfully, there's no debating its phallic structure: 15 floors of Indiana limestone standing erect above the city, capped with a dome of golden tiles and — as if to avoid any confusion — a 19-foot bronze statue called “The Sower” casting his seed to the wind.

But I'm fixated on the teller's jump, instead. I squint, he falls. I squint, he falls. And I wonder how Sandoz might have interpreted the same. In those hollow hours before she burst onto the national stage, nary a book to her name, rejections mounting like unpaid bills, she must have borne a certain empathy for the bank teller. Her own family worried she might commit suicide, so far adrift from her literary ambitions, and she once wrote that after so many revisions of “Old Jules,” “I could have jumped off the Capitol too, but it wouldn't have improved the book particularly.”

I squint. She falls.





Clockwise, from top: The Nebraska State Capitol; a view of the remote Nebraska Sandhills; the Temple Building, one of the oldest structures on the University of Nebraska-Lincoln campus; works by Mari Sandoz at Bluestem Books in Lincoln; the Sheldon Museum of Art.

A ‘Modern Tall Tale’

When I first arrived in Lincoln, I rendezvoused with Ron Hull, then 92 and a pioneer of public television, beneath the stone columns of the Temple Building, one of the oldest structures on the U.N.L. campus. It was in the studio below, he told me, in the spring of 1959, that he produced a seven-part series called “Creative Writing With Mari Sandoz” for the university's educational television station. “I would rather face a rattlesnake than that camera,” he remembered her saying, but as their work together progressed, she slowly began to relax.

“Quite frankly, if there's one photograph of Mari Sandoz and me that I wish I had,” Mr. Hull said, “it's of the two of us dangling our legs off the loading dock, both smoking my Pall Malls.”

With an elfish charm and bushy white eyebrows, Mr. Hull neatly unpacked his memories of the author: her generosity with students, her underdog complex, her staunch liberalism, her retreat to New York and, finally, Nebraskans' general contempt for her second novel, “Capital City,” a thinly veiled allegory published in 1939 about the rise of fascism in the Midwest. Little did I know, of course, that just eight months later, Mr. Hull would, like Sandoz before him, be gone.

“I personally think ‘Capital City’ was a hate letter to Lincoln,” Mr. Hull said. “But it was here that she found herself.”

While Nebraska is redder now that it's ever been, Lincoln itself leans relatively liberal and has evolved in some ways that Sandoz probably would have cherished. Forever a champion of the underdog, and the daughter of immigrants herself, Sandoz would very likely praise the city for its long history of refugee resettlement, for example. As a fan of contemporary art, she would no doubt frequent both the Sheldon Museum of Art and the nearby Great Plains Art Museum, too.

As an avid walker, she would appreciate the more than 135 miles of hiking and biking trails crisscrossing the city, and the numerous wildlife preserves just beyond it: Nine-Mile Prairie, the Frank Shoemaker Marsh, Spring Creek Prairie Audubon Center and more. And of course she would cherish the city's bookstores, particularly Bluestem Books, which specializes in Nebraska literature, and Francie & Finch, Lincoln's newest, housed in the old Nebraska Telephone Company Building downtown.

Old Haunts and an Obsession With Hats

For a more intimate look at Sandoz's life, I meet up the next afternoon with Jamison Wyatt, a Sandoz aficionado whom I first met in college nearly 15 years ago. He now works for the State Legislature and served, until recently, on the executive board of the Mari Sandoz Heritage Society. And since 2014 — by request only — he has ushered Sandoz fans like me on a roughly mile-long walking tour of her life in the city. He calls it “Stalking the Ghost of Mari Sandoz.” This day, I walk with my parents, tourists in their own city. It's 99 degrees. Not a cloud in sight. We start at the corner of 14th and P Streets, the heart of downtown Lincoln, where Sandoz attended Lincoln Business College just months after divorcing her first (and only) husband and fleeing her life as a schoolteacher in the Sandhills. We then move north to the shade of the campus, with stops at the former Teachers College — where Sandoz first enrolled — and the Social Sciences building, where she learned the fundamentals of her craft as a writer.

From there, we head to the former department stores looming above O Street, the city's main drag, where Sandoz indulged her obsession with hats. Then to the old Lincoln Star building, where she took a part-time job as a copywriter, and past the Cornhusker Hotel, where — in its previous iteration — she savored the coffee shop's free air-conditioning and wrote multiple drafts of “Old Jules.”

Mr. Wyatt later guides us through the Capitol's interior, from the yawning foyer bedecked with glittering murals to the parapet on the 14th floor. “A fine place for thought,” Sandoz once called it, with a sweeping view of the city.

And down on J Street, just steps from her old apartment, where Sandoz watched the Capitol rise, year after year, and the moon behind it, night after night, I'm thinking again of her biopic. I'm thinking of “Mist and the Tall White Tower,” the short story she wrote not long after the teller's leap, about a young Sandhiller who flees his abusive caretaker — not Old Jules but Old Jillery — only to find himself on the Capitol parapet, one foot dangling over the ledge, struggling to reconcile life's disappointments, before finally pulling back from the brink. I'd cut to her cluttered desk back home, a cigarette smoldering in the ashtray, and a letter addressed to The Atlantic Monthly sitting beside it.

“I don't suppose anyone will want to print this story,” it reads. “But you understand that it had to be written.”

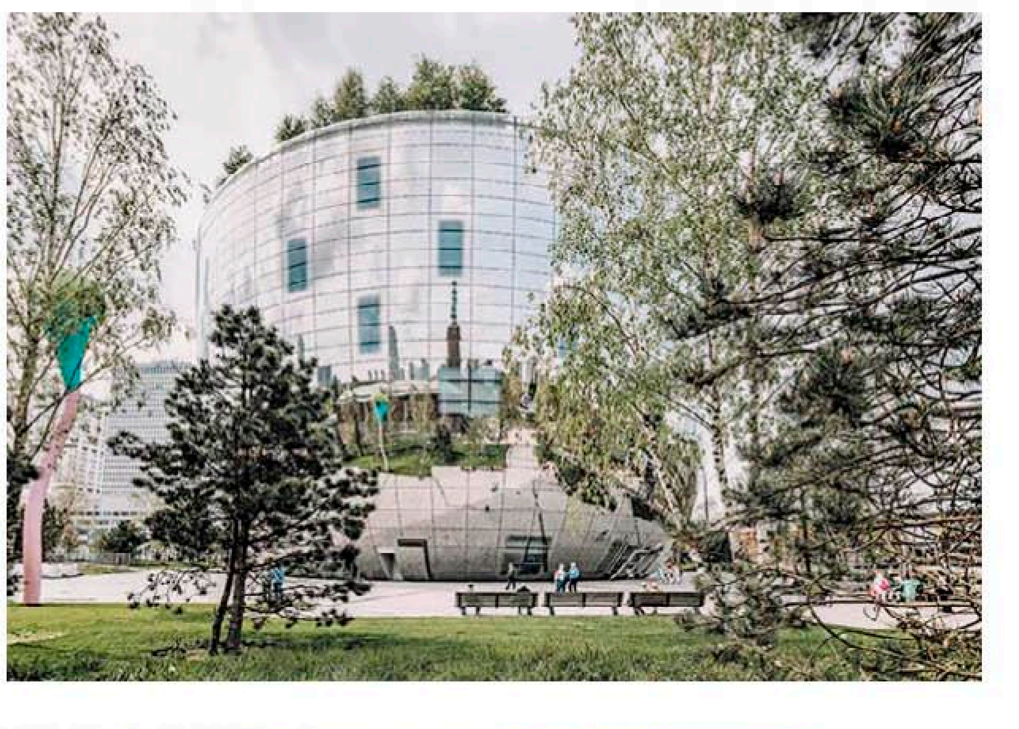
36 HOURS

ROTTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS

Amsterdam or Rotterdam? For sheer picturesqueness, Amsterdam is the easy winner. But what Rotterdam, the Netherlands' second-largest city, lacks in historical edifices — much of it was bombed in World War II — it makes up for with contemporary urban cool. Long the busiest port in Europe, Rotterdam is a multicultural hub of global commerce and avant-garde architecture. (The architect and Pritzker Prize winner Rem Koolhaas, a Rotterdam native, has added his touch to the soaring skyline.) Art institutions like the Nederlands Fotomuseum and the new Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen have elevated Rotterdam into an essential European cultural stop, while food markets like the massive, futuristic Markthal and the sleek Foodhallen, which both opened during the past decade, add to a dining scene awash in experimental restaurants.

SETH SHERWOOD

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ILVY NJIOKIKTJIEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



MELISSA SCHRIEK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MELISSA SCHRIEK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top: the view from Euromast, Rotterdam's 607-foot tower; Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen, containing more than 150,000 artworks; Mooie Boules, a bar and pétanque hall; the Delfshaven neighborhood; and Fermin, a restaurant in the Oude Noorden district.

Friday

3 P.M. | CLIMB THE MAST

Wave hello to Rotterdam by heading to Parkhaven harbor and taking the elevator up Euromast, a thin, cylindrical tower that pokes 607 feet into the air, making it one of the city's tallest structures (admission is 12.50 euros, or about $13.50). Inaugurated in 1960 to coincide with Floriade, an international horticultural and garden exposition held in Rotterdam that year, Euromast features a platform at about 360 feet offering panoramic views from its circular terrace. You'll also find a restaurant-cafe where you can sit in an S-shaped Verner Panton chair, indulge in Rotterdam's highest afternoon tea (€22.50) and gaze at the expanse of office towers, suspension bridges and shipping lanes.

5 P.M. | SURF THE CHANNELS

Tens of thousands of container ships pass through the twisting waterways and sprawling commercial harbors of Rotterdam every year, loading and unloading oil, clothing, fruit juice and a gazillion other goods. You get a front-row view of international trade from the glassy and modern Spido sightseeing boats. Cruising through Rotterdam's water channels on the 75-minute tour, you pass tugboats, freighters and container ships, and wend among shipyards, dry docks and towering cargo cranes. You'll glimpse more photogenic spots, too, like the attractive new parks and townhouses of Katendrecht (a red-light district until the 1980s) and the immense white S.S. Rotterdam — a retired 1950s cruise ship that now contains a hotel, bars and restaurants. Adult tickets, €16.75.

7 P.M. | GO BIG ON ZERO WASTE

Sour is power at Fermin, a stripped-down new restaurant in the Oude Noorden neighborhood. Within the open kitchen, chefs are busy fermenting and pickling, and almost no part of an animal or a vegetable goes to waste. You might find dishes like Dutch mussels and roasted pumpkin pulp (the stuff you usually scoop out) in a classic French butter sauce that is mixed with fermented cabbage juice, or a tartare of yellow beetroot with pickled blueberries in a twice-fermented miso cream, topped with colorful edible flowers. Natural wines and kombucha cocktails round out the pleasingly acrid offerings. Tasting menus start at €48 per person, without drinks.

10 P.M. | GO UNDERGROUND

You have been warned: "Drinking will lead to lasciviousness" read the tasting notes for the Rotterdam-brewed Dubbel Wit Zomerfit beer (€6) at #Wunderbar, a bar filled with vintage furniture and alternative art along the city's hopping nightlife strip, Witte de Withstraat. Part of an indie cultural center called the Worm — whose programming includes live bands, experimental films and improv nights — the bohemian basement lounge also serves a high-alcohol beer made with yeast for Japanese sake (Kaishaku, €8.40); an Ethiopian pilsner (Addis Ababa Habesha Cold Gold, €4.20); and other suds from afar.

Saturday

11 A.M. | GO RETRO

When you want to dress up like Marilyn Monroe, decorate your home like the Danish design legend Arne Jacobsen or sing along to the Belgian pop songs of Jacques Brel, hit the vintage shops along Zwaanshals, a street in the Oude Noorden neighborhood. Lily Scarlet sells evening gowns, pink cardigans, long silver gloves and glammy accessories that channel the golden age of Hollywood, while Oudstijl showcases sleek and smooth midcentury modern furniture, including cabinets and couches. For the soundtrack (and the sound system), JensDoRecords offers throwback turntables and radios, as well as racks of vinyl albums running the gamut from Nina Simone to Iron Maiden.

1 P.M. | TEST THE MARKET

Chinese dumplings, Japanese ramen, halal hot wings: The many global flavors of Rotterdam fill the soaring, horseshoe-shaped Markthal, a futuristic culinary cathedral decorated with huge images of fruits and vegetables rather than angels and saints. You might assemble an eclectic local lunch by stopping at Royal Fish (traditional Dutch herring, €3.50), or Ekmekci (a Turkish wrap of chicken in warm flatbread and garlic sauce, €7.50). Through the market's multistory glass facade, you can admire nearby 1970s architectural masterworks like the boxy Cube Houses, which suggest a row of tumbling dice.

3 P.M. | NAVIGATE THE DOCKLANDS

The Wilhelminapier docklands have sprouted with soaring skyscrapers by celebrated architects, enlivening the city's skyline with experimental new forms. In addition to Maastoren, the nation's second-tallest building, the strip includes the leaning facade of the KPN Telecom Office Tower, by the architect Renzo Piano; the tall piles of stacked gray boxes known as De Rotterdam, designed by Rem Koolhaas; and the historic Hotel New York, an early-20th-century gem. But the more discreet star is the Nederlands Fotomuseum (€14 admission). Hushed and dark, the institution features a permanent exhibition of Dutch photography called the Gallery of Honour, which displays images of notables like John Lennon and Yoko Ono, protesting for peace in the bed of an Amsterdam hotel; and Anne Frank, smiling and bright-eyed in a haunting passport photo.

6 P.M. | COMMUNE WITH NATURE

In a residential area near Erasmus University, In de Keuken van Floris restaurant feels like an enchanted forest with its autumnal tones, wooden surfaces and wall covered by thick, green Icelandic moss. Offering no predetermined menu, the chef-owner Floris Versluijs whips up what he pleases from an open kitchen island outfitted with a vertical wood-fired stove and jars of pickled and fermented substances: miso, kombucha and more. The nightly concoctions might include forest vegetables and flowers in a petri dish with a gel made from tea and mushrooms, or lamb neck cooked for hours over the wood fire and served with fava-bean kimchi. Saturday's 10-course menu is €89, without drinks.

10:30 P.M. | CROSS THE TRACKS

A disused stone railway bridge next to a creepy urban underpass doesn't sound like a wise nighttime destination, but if you follow the sounds of live music you'll discover the welcoming confines of Bird. This restaurant-bar-concert hall is one of many lounges, eateries and boutiques that have filled the barrel-vaulted spaces below the train tracks and revived this corner of the Oude Noorden neighborhood. A shot of local genever (€4.10), with a bottle of Hertog Jan Dubbel beer (€5.90) makes a fully Dutch drinking duo. Then follow the noise of clanging metal balls to Mooie Boules, five minutes away on foot. Part hipster bar, part indie food court, part recreation center, the vast, lofty expanse echoes with the din of locals drinking Rotterdam's own Kaapse Karel pale ale (€4.90) and playing pétanque on a gravel court.

Sunday

11 A.M. | DIG THE DEPOT

Museumpark is home to world-class exhibition spaces like Kunsthal (an art museum designed by Mr. Koolhaas), Het Nieuwe Instituut (devoted to design, architecture and digital media) and Sonneveld House (a white 1920s functionalist home with preserved period interiors). The park's new marquee attraction is Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen, a structure resembling a huge mirrored teacup. Built to store the more than 150,000 works of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen next door (closed for renovations until at least 2029), the futuristic space greets visitors with a wide variety of art, including a Joan Miró abstraction, an Italian Baroque rendering of David and Goliath and a Nam June Paik sculpture made of flickering televisions. The rest of the collection offers up an equally free-form mash-up of artists, eras and styles: canvases by Rembrandt and Piet Mondrian; Ettore Sottsass shelving; a room-size, Wild West-themed installation by Paul McCarthy. Along the way, windows in the walls offer glimpses into the archives, conservation studios and other workspaces. Tickets, €20.

1 P.M. | DRINK UP THE PAST

On May 14, 1940, German aircraft bombed Rotterdam to rubble, killing hundreds and leaving tens of thousands of people homeless. The picturesque harborside neighborhood of Delfshaven was spared, and today the gabled townhouses, venerable windmill and 15th-century church, Pelgrimvaderskerk, offer a rare glimpse of the area's past. Among the art galleries and artisans' studios, the rustic Stadsbrouwerij De Pelgrim microbrewery serves a caramel-accented Mayflower Tripel (€4.90) that honors another famous local event: the departure of the English Pilgrims, who had sought refuge in the Netherlands, in the summer of 1620. From Delfshaven they went to Southampton, England — where they acquired the Mayflower — and set sail for the New World in the fall.

KEY STOPS

Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen is one of the newest and most futuristic additions to Rotterdam's array of excellent museums.

Euromast is a tower that offers panoramic city views from its stylish cafe.

Markthal, a huge food market with a futuristic arch, tempts visitors with an international smorgasbord.

#Wunderbar is a lounge that draws bohemian and creative types with its throwback furniture, unusual beers and diverse cultural activities at the Worm, its performance venue.

WHERE TO EAT

Fermin is a restaurant that gets clever with fermented, pickled and wood-fired dishes.

In de Keuken van Floris injects science and whimsy into its contemporary northern European cuisine.

Stadsbrouwerij De Pelgrim is a microbrewery to relax in after exploring the old-world Delfshaven district.

Bird is a bar with live music, local beer and shots of genever, a milder juniper-flavored cousin of gin.

Mooie Boules, a bar and recreation hall, echoes with the clinking of beer bottles toasting and metal balls colliding during pétanque (a French game a bit like Italian bocce).

WHERE TO STAY

Room Mate Bruno occupies a former Dutch East India Company warehouse that now contains the Foodhallen food hall and 217 rooms that stylishly riff on nautical themes. Doubles from 104 euros, or about $114.

Hotel Not Hotel exudes zaniness, thanks to areas decorated like a giant cuckoo clock, an Italian villa and a candy-themed mansion. An art gallery and a Mexican restaurant complete the offerings. Doubles from €84.

Boat-Hotel operates several boats moored in Rotterdam's harbor that you can stay in. The floating apartments can accommodate two to 14 guests and start at about €362.

For **short-term rentals**, the area surrounding Witte de Withstraat offers easy proximity to the Museumpark, home to some of the city's top cultural institutions. For tranquillity and history, the Delfshaven neighborhood delights visitors with many old townhouses around its photogenic harbor.

Cooking

What to Make Next Week

This coming week is the walk-up to Memorial Day weekend and its sometimes-heavy cookout meals. So we offer some lighter, but still tasty, options here: sheet-pan chile crisp salmon and asparagus, and black pepper chicken; crab cakes, mushroom piccata and Korean glass noodles. But that doesn't mean you can't ponder the sturdy fare of next weekend, with its barbecue and burgers, its potato and macaroni salads, its hop-heavy I.P.A.s and refreshing rosés and, most important, the promise of imminent summer.

Visit NYT Cooking for thousands more recipes, advice and inspiration: nytcooking.com

CHRIS SIMPSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: FRANCES BOSWELL.

Crab Cakes

Emily Meggett taught Kim Severson to make this platter of crab cakes, urging her to flavor the meat with just a tiny bit of mace, nutmeg's peppery cousin. Yes, crab is expensive. Budget the rest of the week accordingly. *SAM SIFTON*

ADAPTED FROM "GULLAH GEECHEE HOME COOKING: RECIPES FROM THE MATRIARCH OF EDISTO ISLAND" BY EMILY MEGGETT (ABRAMS, 2022)
TIME: 1½ HOURS
YIELD: ABOUT 12 LARGE CRAB CAKES

- 10 slices soft white or whole-wheat bread
- ½ cup/115 grams unsalted butter
- 1 large onion, grated
- ¼ cup/30 grams self-rising flour (see Tips)
- 1½ cups/355 milliliters whole or 2 percent milk
- 2 large eggs, beaten
- 1 teaspoon fresh lemon juice
- 1 teaspoon distilled white vinegar
- ¼ teaspoon ground mace
- 2 pounds/907 grams lump crab meat, drained if needed
- ½ cup/120 milliliters vegetable oil, plus more as needed

1. Heat the broiler to 500 degrees (or its highest setting). On your oven's highest rack, broil all the bread slices on a baking sheet for 2 to 3 minutes, or until golden and crisp but not burned. Flip all the slices over and broil for another 2 to 3 minutes. Turn the broiler off and allow the bread to crisp in the oven until totally dry, 15 to 20 minutes.

2. Remove the bread from the oven and let cool. Using a box grater or rolling pin, coarsely grate and crush the bread slices into bread crumbs (or pulse them in a food processor). The crumbs should look and feel like sand; you should get about 4 cups. Set the bread crumbs aside.

3. In a large cast-iron skillet, melt the butter over high heat. Once the butter is melted, add the onion and cook, stirring often, until tender, about 5 minutes.

4. Pour the butter and onion into a large bowl. Whisk the flour into the melted butter and onion, then slowly whisk in the milk to make a creamy sauce. Once the sauce is smooth, whisk in the eggs, lemon juice, vinegar and mace.

5. Add the crab meat to the cream sauce and mix lightly with a fork; don't break up the pieces of crab meat. Gently fold in just enough of the bread crumbs so that the mixture holds together (about 2½ cups). Divide the crab mixture into 12 equal portions, setting them on a baking sheet as you go. They should be thick rounds — about the size of the palm of your hand, and roughly 1½ inches thick.

6. Using your hand, take a scoop of the toasted bread crumbs and coat each crab cake.

7. Wipe out the skillet and heat the oil over high. Once the oil is hot, place a few of the crab cakes in the skillet. Reduce the heat to medium and cook for 3 to 5 minutes on each side, or until browned and cooked through. Place the cooked crab cakes on a paper towel to drain. Working in batches, cook the remaining crab cakes, adding more oil as needed.

8. Serve crab cakes immediately, or set aside in a warm oven (see Tips) while you cook the remaining crab cakes.

If you don't have self-rising flour, substitute ¼ cup all-purpose flour mixed with ¼ teaspoon baking powder and a pinch of salt.

To keep the crab cakes warm after cooking, heat the oven to 175 degrees (the warm setting). Place the crab cakes on a large baking sheet lined with a piece of foil and place them in the oven. At this temperature, the oven will keep them warm without drying them out.

JAMES RANSOM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: BARRETT WASHBURNE.

Sheet-Pan Chile Crisp Salmon and Asparagus

Here's a neat one from Yasmin Fahr: roasted salmon and asparagus with chile crisp, soy sauce and honey. You could serve that on top of a rice bowl, or as part of a big salad. Either way, I like to finish the dish with sesame seeds, cilantro and a spray of lime juice. *SAM SIFTON*

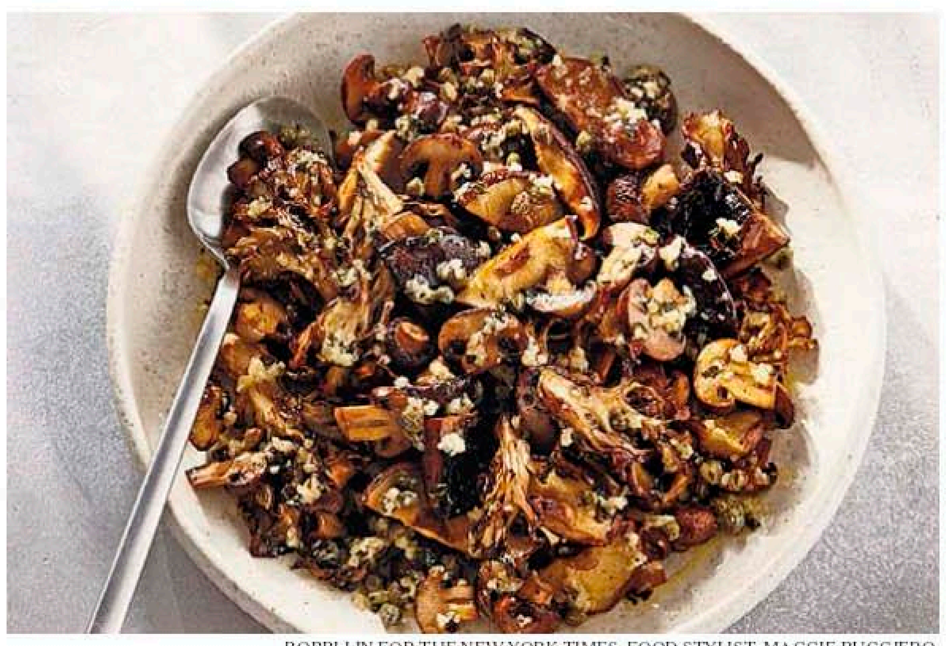
TIME: 20 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- 1 tablespoon store-bought or homemade chile crisp, plus more for serving
- 1 tablespoon soy sauce
- 1 teaspoon honey
- 2 pounds skinless, center-cut salmon (1 to 1 ½ inch thick), cut into 1- to 1½-inch cubes
- 1 bunch scallions, light green and white parts thinly sliced (dark greens reserved for another use)
- 1 bunch asparagus, trimmed
- Kosher salt
- 2 tablespoons olive oil
- Cooked grains or salad greens (optional), for serving

1. Heat the oven to 400 degrees. In a large bowl, combine the chile crisp, soy sauce and honey. Add the salmon and sliced scallions; toss to coat.

2. Add the asparagus to a sheet pan; season with salt and toss with the olive oil until shiny. Add the salmon mixture to the pan, nestling the salmon between spears or on top, if needed. Place any larger cubes near the edges of the pan, so they'll cook evenly.

3. Roast in the oven until the salmon is just cooked through and the asparagus is crisp-tender, about 12 minutes. Season to taste with salt. Serve with cooked grains or salad greens, if desired.



BOBBI LIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: MAGGIE RUGGIERO.

Mushroom Piccata

You can grill the mushrooms for Kay Chun's mushroom piccata, but I never do that on weeknights. I put them in a hot oven to roast while I'm making the sauce. Butter, shallots, garlic, capers, parsley? You could coat a Hoka with that combination and have a fine dinner. *SAM SIFTON*

TIME: 30 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- Neutral oil (if grilling), for greasing grates
- 2 pounds mixed mushrooms, such as cremini or white button (halved), shiitake caps (halved), portobello caps (quartered) or maitake mushrooms (torn into large clusters)
- 6 tablespoons extra-virgin olive oil
- Kosher salt (such as Diamond Crystal) and pepper
- ¼ cup minced shallot
- 1 teaspoon minced garlic
- 4 tablespoons unsalted butter, diced
- 2 tablespoons lemon juice
- 2 tablespoons capers
- 1 tablespoon caper brine
- 2 tablespoons chopped parsley

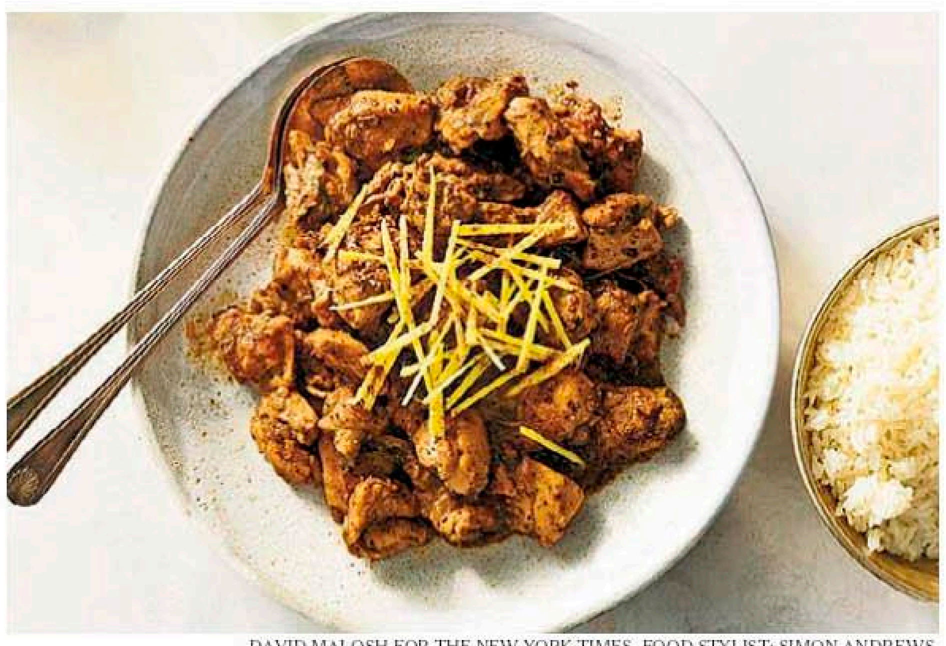
1. Heat oven to 450 degrees, or if grilling, heat a grill to medium and lightly oil the grates with neutral oil.

2. On each of 2 large rimmed sheet pans, combine half of the mushrooms and 2 tablespoons of the olive oil; season with salt and pepper. Toss to coat, then spread in an even layer.

3. Roast the mushrooms for 10 minutes, then flip them and continue roasting until tender and deep golden all over, 5 minutes longer. Transfer the mushrooms to a serving platter. If grilling, grill the mushrooms, turning occasionally, until tender and golden, 8 to 10 minutes. Transfer the mushrooms to a serving platter as they finish cooking.

4. Meanwhile, in a small nonstick skillet over medium, heat the remaining 2 tablespoons of olive oil. Add shallot and cook, stirring occasionally, until lightly golden, 2 to 3 minutes. Add the garlic and stir until fragrant, 30 seconds. Add butter and stir until melted, then stir in lemon juice, capers, caper brine and parsley; season with salt and pepper.

5. Spoon the piccata sauce all over the mushrooms and serve warm or at room temperature.



DAVID MALOSH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: SIMON ANDREWS.

Kali Mirch Karahi (Black Pepper Chicken)

There's a deeply fiery intensity to Zainab Shah's recipe for kali mirch karahi, or black pepper chicken, which comes together in roughly a half-hour. Secret ingredient: malt vinegar. Oh, wow. *SAM SIFTON*

TIME: 30 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

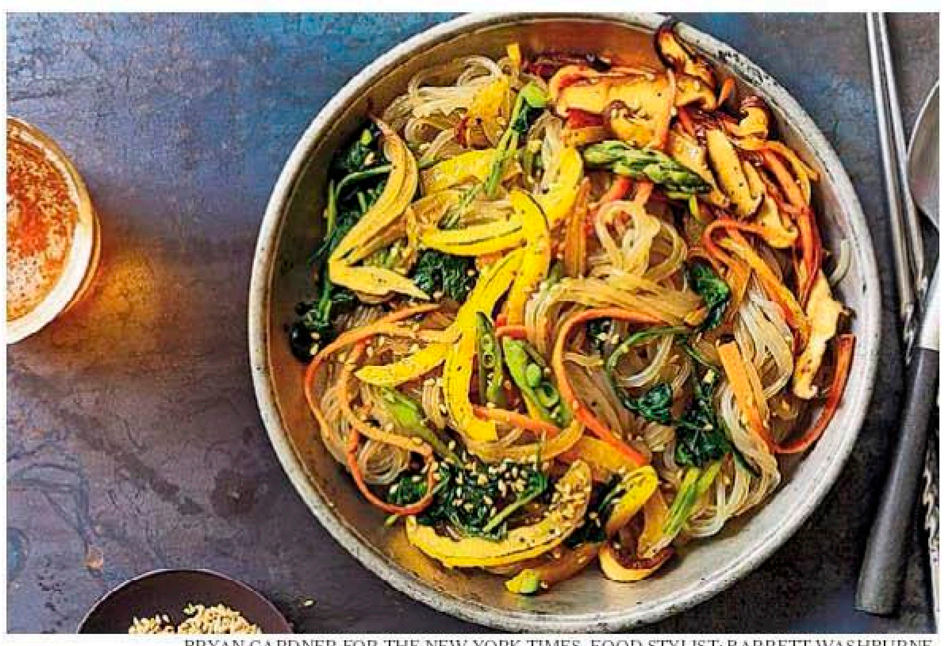
- ¼ cup ghee or neutral oil
- 1½ teaspoons garlic paste or freshly grated garlic (from about 2 large cloves)
- 1½ teaspoons ginger paste or freshly grated ginger (from a 1-inch piece)
- 2 pounds boneless, skinless chicken thighs, cut into 1-inch pieces
- 2 tablespoons malt vinegar (optional)
- 1 medium onion, finely chopped
- 4 Thai green chiles, thinly sliced
- 1 teaspoon ground cumin
- 4 teaspoons coarsely ground Malabar black pepper or 3 teaspoons coarsely ground black pepper
- 1 teaspoon fine sea salt
- ¼ cup full-fat Greek yogurt
- 1 to 2 tablespoons lemon juice
- ½ teaspoon garam masala (optional)
- 1 (2-inch) piece fresh ginger, peeled and julienned
- Roti or cooked rice, for serving

1. Heat ghee in a karahi, wok or high-sided 10- to 12-inch skillet over medium for 30 seconds. Add garlic, ginger and chicken. Cook on high, stirring frequently, until the chicken changes color, 5 to 7 minutes.

2. Add vinegar (if using), onion and chiles. Cook, stirring occasionally, until the onion is translucent, 5 to 7 minutes.

3. Add the cumin, pepper and salt. Continue cooking, stirring occasionally, until the chicken is cooked through, about 10 minutes. If anything starts sticking to the pot during this time, add a splash of water, and, if necessary, reduce the heat slightly.

4. Stir in the yogurt. Top with lemon juice, garam masala (if using) and ginger. Serve with rice or roti.



BRYAN GARDNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: BARRETT WASHBURNE.

Spring Vegetable Japchae (Korean Glass Noodles)

Kay's meatless recipe for the savory Korean stir-fry known as japchae is one of my favorites. She gets a ton of spring vegetables into the mix, and allows their sweetness and snap to shine against the chewiness of the sweet potato noodles. I like to make it right after work and allow it to sit for a couple of hours before dinner. It develops! *SAM SIFTON*

TIME: 30 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- ¼ cup low-sodium soy sauce
- 1 tablespoon minced garlic
- 1 tablespoon turbinado sugar (or brown sugar)
- 1 tablespoon toasted sesame oil
- Kosher salt and black pepper
- 12 ounces dried sweet potato noodles (glass noodles)
- 3 tablespoons safflower or canola oil
- ½ small yellow onion, thinly sliced (about ½ cup)
- 4 ounces carrots, peeled and cut into matchsticks (about 1 cup)
- 4 ounces fresh shiitake mushrooms, stemmed and thinly sliced (about 1½ cups)
- 1 medium yellow bell pepper, cored, seeded and sliced into ⅛-inch-thick strips
- 4 ounces sugar snap peas, thinly sliced lengthwise (about 1½ cups)
- 6 ounces asparagus, trimmed and thinly sliced on a bias, tips kept whole (about 1 heaping cup)
- 4 ounces baby spinach (about 2 packed cups)
- Toasted sesame seeds, for garnish

1. Make the sauce: In a small bowl, combine soy sauce, garlic, sugar, sesame oil and ½ teaspoon pepper.

2. In a large pot of boiling water, cook noodles until tender and translucent, 8 to 10 minutes. Transfer to a colander and run under cold water to stop the cooking. Drain well and transfer to a large bowl. Add half of the sauce (about 3 tablespoons) and toss to evenly coat.

3. In a large skillet, heat 2 tablespoons safflower oil over medium. Add onion and carrots, season with salt and pepper and cook, stirring occasionally, until softened, about 3 minutes.

4. Add mushrooms and half the remaining sauce (about 1½ tablespoons) and cook, stirring occasionally, until tender and lightly golden, about 3 minutes. Transfer the mixture to the bowl with the noodles.

5. Add the remaining 1 tablespoon safflower oil and the bell pepper to the skillet and cook, stirring frequently, for 2 minutes. Add snap peas and asparagus, season with salt and pepper, and cook, stirring occasionally, until vegetables are crisp-tender, about 2 minutes. Add the spinach to the skillet and stir until wilted, 1 to 2 minutes. Transfer the mixture into the bowl with the noodles. Add the remaining sauce and toss until well combined. Season with salt and pepper.

6. Divide japchae among bowls and garnish with sesame seeds. Serve warm or at room temperature.

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